1998

Power in Religious Organizations: a Study of Principals' Perspectives as Seen in Three Religious High Schools in Michigan

Patrick L. Allen
Andrews University

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Andrews University

School of Education

POWER IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS: A STUDY OF PRINCIPALS' PERSPECTIVES AS SEEN IN THREE RELIGIOUS HIGH SCHOOLS IN MICHIGAN

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Patrick L. Allen

June 1998

POWER IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS: A STUDY OF PRINCIPALS' PERSPECTIVES AS SEEN IN THREE RELIGIOUS HIGH SCHOOLS IN MICHIGAN

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Patrick L. Allen

APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

Chair: David S. Penner, Ph.D.

Director, Graduate Programs
Jerome D. Thayer, Ph.D.

Member: William H. Green, Ph.D.

Dean, School of Education
Karen R. Graham, Ph.D.

Member: Brian E. Strayer, Ph.D.

July 22, 1998
Date approved

ABSTRACT

POWER IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS: A STUDY OF PRINCIPALS' PERSPECTIVES AS SEEN IN THREE RELIGIOUS HIGH SCHOOLS IN MICHIGAN

by

Patrick Linton Allen

Chair: David S. Penner

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

School of Education

Title: POWER IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS: A STUDY OF PRINCIPALS' PERSPECTIVES AS SEEN IN THREE RELIGIOUS HIGH SCHOOLS IN MICHIGAN

Name of researcher: Patrick Linton Allen

Name and degree of faculty chair: David Stephen Penner, Ph.D.

Date completed: July 1998

Problem

Power is a phenomenon that is known to almost everyone, and is evident in any relationship that involves at least two individuals. Despite its inescapability, not many individuals are aware of its nature and characteristics and how it displays itself, especially in the organizational setting. This study focused on how power displays itself in religious organizations, and described particular activities that occur in the context of three religious schools in Michigan.

Method

To accomplish the purpose of the study the literature on power was reviewed to identify the existing theories. This documentary approach was combined with case studies to examine the phenomenon within real-life contexts. The case study techniques used were interviews, observation, note taking, and reviewing extant documents in all three schools to obtain a sense of what the observed world was really like. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyze the data. This occurred throughout the process but especially when the data were categorized in a case record by subject and site, and when the database was read several times to look for patterns and to make inferences.

Conclusions

The religious institutions studied were characterized by systems of organization, authority, and ideology, which kept things in order and allowed them to accomplish their mission and maintain their status quo. The lower organizations such as the schools operated in a similar way to the church body which owns them, and to ensure that this happens, the head of the church organization serves also as the titular head of the schools and has representatives on the boards of these lower organizations. The policies by which these schools operate are drafted by the parent organization, and specific school policies required approval of the higher organization before becoming effective.

Authority is the most evident form of power in the schools and is legitimized by position, person, and performance. The CEO is authorized by the board

to lead the institution. His power is further strengthened by his character, ability to use the elements of the spiritual life, and resources for the benefit of the organization. Ideology was identified as the sieve through which education is transmitted, and played a major role in the employment of teachers.

The systems of organization, authority, and ideology provide opportunity for a high potential for abuse, because of the rigidity in their structures and expected adherence. The principals are required to enforce the standards and model the qualities of the Christian life as was evident in Jesus Christ. This posed a serious challenge as the servant leadership which they would like to model was frequently subsumed to the need to fulfill organizational requirements.

To my late parents Ferdinand and Christiana Allen
whose vision has now been realized; and to my
wife Patricia and our children Kurt, Candice,
and David whose support urged me on

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The accomplishment of a dissertation involves not only the individual who did the research, but a wider circle of support. I owe a debt of gratitude to God, whose gift, guidance, and direction made this accomplishment possible in the first place. To Him be all the glory. My wife Patricia and our children Kurt, Candice, and David have been very supportive and eager to see me get past this milestone. I thank them for the love and confidence they have expressed.

The members of my committee were very professional and considerate in their guidance and direction. I am profoundly grateful to my chair, Dr. David Penner, who journeyed with me throughout the entire process, and served as a great mentor and friend; Dr. William Green, for his intellectual stimulation and ability to make me feel at ease in his presence; and Dr. Brian Strayer, for his keen insight, thoroughness, and constant urging to see me accomplish this goal.

I appreciate the support and prayers of my siblings (Philip, Cornel, Pauline, and Koral), and my relatives and friends (Clara Bennett, Gloria Roberts, Herman Ming, Patrick Williams, Richard Jackson, Israel Mfune, and others too numerous to mention here). Special thanks to the principals who allowed me into their schools to conduct the case studies, and to my nephew Henry Mitchell who assisted me in typing the case study reports. I am privileged to receive such wonderful support.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 is the introduction to this study on the use of power in religious organizations. It outlines the background to the study, defines power, and states the problem, purpose, and significance of the study. It also gives a brief overview of the literature and outlines the methodology employed in conducting the study. The number of chapters and contents are also identified.

The phenomenon which forms the basis of this study seems to be used glibly by individuals, yet it poses tremendous challenges to understanding in terms of its scope, definition, and function. Power is such a broad concept that it is nearly impossible to explore in its entirety. It is that aspect which is manifested in organizations, primarily religious organizations, that is addressed here, and since everyone in an organization possesses some degree of power, the focus is restricted to the leadership position. Even as religious organizations operate basically on certain common principles as secular organizations, in terms of structure, the extent to which beliefs and other religious features impact the organization is still uncertain. The reference to religious organization in this study is restricted to schools operated by different denominational bodies. These schools consider themselves religious institutions because they operate on the same philosophical framework as the churches that own them, and their objective is to provide

religious education for the youth of the church.

Background

Power is a phenomenon that is everywhere and is a part of everyone's daily life. It is so pervasive and intricately woven into the fabric of human relationships that it becomes almost a game that everyone plays. The concept invariably conjures up different images for different people based on their life experiences. Power has evoked such a bad name and such ethical and spiritual apprehension that many people persuade themselves that they want nothing to do with it. Despite the bad odor which clings to it, Toffler (1990) placed the phenomenon in a neutral perspective by observing that it is neither good nor bad. Some people have a pious antipathy toward power and refuse to recognize its pervasiveness, leaving a concentration of power in the hands of a few who are willing to understand it. Such unconcerned individuals leave themselves open to the misuse of power or become victims of its abuse.

Several individuals have attempted to define power and describe its importance and use in organizational life. Most definitions of social power invariably fall into one of two main categories: (1) power as a social force; that is, power is the ability to employ force (Bierstedt, 1950; Cartwright, 1959; Dahl, 1957; French, 1956; Russell, 1938; Wrong, 1979); and (2) power as a potential social exchange in which one member has behavioral control over the behavior of another (Cartwright, 1965; French & Raven, 1959; Gouldner, 1960; Presthus, 1960; Simon, 1957; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). In an organizational setting, where the interest of this study lies, power is described as the

capacity to effect or affect organizational outcomes (Kanter, 1977; McCall, 1979; Mintzberg, 1983).

If one is to understand the functioning of an organization from within and its involvement with the leadership process, one must understand the important part power plays in the interactions of organizational life. Gardener (1986) claimed that leaders are preoccupied with power, which is natural, so they should not apologize for it. Yet despite the relevance of power to organizations, the research studies done on leadership and power are not well integrated. There is still the tendency to view organizations externally, apart from their functions (Mintzberg, 1983), and leaders have tried to shield themselves from study (Kipnis, 1976). Leaders escape the spotlight because they have the mechanisms at their disposal to do so. Even though everyone knows that they are not always honorable and honest in their use of the authority granted them, very little has been documented about their use of power, because it appears that the path to a practical understanding is prohibitive and treacherous for the researcher.

It is within this setting that the church, having an institutional identity, finds itself in the midst of a society exercising power. According to Wilfred (1989), the strongest temptation to a sociological reduction of the church, unfrocking it of its mystical aura and treating it as any other human organization, arises from an observation of the way power is exercised within it. Within the church there is a love-hate relationship with power. The exercise of divine power is recognized, respected, and welcome, but many have apprehensions and concerns when human beings attempt to assume "Divine Power." The church is expected to submit whatever power it possesses

to the lordship of Jesus Christ (Habeker, 1990) and use it in ways that will honor and model Him who is its acknowledged head.

There are times, however, in the religious community when leaders exercise their power, knowingly or unknowingly, in a manner that lacks a redemptive approach and does not reflect the values that underlie the practices of Christians (John 13:1-17). Some authors have observed that, to many religious leaders, power is not only the name of the game, it is the only game played in the leadership arena (Forbes, 1983; Roberts, 1987). There are power tools evident in the Christian community which some leaders exploit in an attempt to solidify and perpetuate their hold on power and which also lead to abuse. Forbes (1983) observed that power, whether used in Christian or non-Christian settings, operates identically, but to the "rituals" of power Christians add "the language of spiritual life" to appeal to a person's conscience and to elicit the needed response. Christian leaders "quote scriptures," "use prayer to escape awkward situations and confrontations," refer to policy, and resort to piety. She suggested that this exercise of power "is manipulation at its worst and best, since it nearly always succeeds" (p. 21).

Some argue that power must be avoided at all costs since it affects relationships. Only a servant leadership model that is completely devoid of power plays is acceptable (Greenleaf, 1977; Nouwen, 1989; Spears, 1995). It is important for Christians that leaders exercising power be seen as praying, pious persons, but such leaders are more likely to focus on process rather than the real organizational goals (Reimer, 1987). If leaders in religious organizations are to avoid the abuse of power, then it seems that the principles reflected in the model established by Jesus Christ, who

gave us His power to empower others, should also be operational in religious organizational life.

Definition of Power

In physics, power is defined as energy, but in the social context there is no consensus on a definition. Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1961) offers 24 definitions, whereas Collins Concise Dictionary (1982) suggests 22. Often in place of a definitive approach, synonyms such as control, authority, influence, persuasion, command, dominion, and force are suggested. The basic definition suggested by the lexicon is that power is the ability to do something. This forms the basis for the meanings and nuances that are commonly used.

Some scholars define power in terms of a force employed to produce intended effects: the ability to change a behavior from what it would have been (Bierstedt, 1950; Campolo, 1988; Cartwright, 1959; Russell, 1938; Wrong, 1968). Others conceive power in terms of social exchange, as the capacity or ability to influence or effect change (Pfeffer, 1981; Presthus, 1960; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). From an organizational standpoint, power is considered the capacity to effect or affect outcomes (Beitz, 1989; Kanter, 1977; Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972; McCall, 1979; Mintzberg, 1983). Gardener (1986) proposed a definition that is broad enough to encompass the numerous suggestions made: "It is the capacity to ensure the outcomes one wishes, and to prevent those one does not wish" (p. 3).

Power is sometimes used synonymously with authority and influence. However, power takes on a much wider connotation than authority. Authority

presupposes power and is recognized when power is legitimized. Authority may be seen as the institutional right to exercise power. Power can be exercised, and indeed, has been exercised without such institutional rights. Influence, according to Mintzberg (1983), is the power a person has. He used both words interchangeably when defining power in organizations. Kast and Rosenzweig (1972) also saw power as the ability to influence. Bass (1981) did not see influence as synonymous with power, but simply as a function of power.

Further discussions on the definition are presented in a later chapter. However, for the purpose of this study, power is considered as the ability to accomplish something, to effect outcomes, that is, the actions and the decisions that precede these outcomes. This definition is couched in the social context where the phenomenon affects human relationships; therefore, it is likely that other terms such as influence, authority, and control may be used synonymously with, or as a subset of, power.

Statement of the Problem

Everyone knows what power is or has been affected by its use at one time or another. Nyberg (1981) said that "it is unavoidable in all social relations that involve at least two people related through a plan of action" (p. 16). Interestingly, despite its inescapability, there is limited understanding of its bases, forms, and subtle display in affecting people's lives. Some refuse to recognize its pervasiveness, leaving the few who are willing to understand and use it to do so without much resistance, except in cases of blatant misuse. Even the study of power has the unpleasant implication that one is challenging another's authority. Nowhere is this more evident than in the religious

community where ultimate power is seen as residing in the Omnipotent God and is bequeathed as necessary to Christians through the Holy Spirit (Matt 28:18-20; Acts 1:8).

In Christian organizations, as in all others, those who lead must exercise some measure of authority over their followers. The challenge these leaders face, if they seek to be credible and relevant in the exercise of their power, is that they must consciously adopt an approach which is congruent with the principles and goals of the Christian church. They face the temptation to resort to mundane practices which are evident in everyday life, or to cement their hold on power in subtle ways masked by spiritual overtures and power plays which are learned and may even appear innocent and acceptable to those they lead.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate and describe the use of power in the context of religious organizations. To accomplish this purpose the literature on power was reviewed and the theories that emerged were discussed and documented. Additionally, the phenomenon was examined and described through case studies as it is displayed in the natural setting of three religious high schools in Michigan.

Significance of the Study

Merriam (1988) stated that the value of any study is derived from how much it fits with, or expands on, previous work, as well as from the study's intrinsic properties. It is an undeniable fact that power pervades every aspect of our lives whether or not we are aware of it. The common perception of power is that it is corrupting; consequently, it is not examined as readily as it should be by many who would benefit from an

understanding of it if aware of its potential for good. Unfortunately, also, many people encounter power in a negative form and so they rarely see any redeeming or empowering aspect of the phenomenon, nor do they have the knowledge which would protect them against its misuse. Inherent in this study is the concept that the distribution of knowledge about power is one essential protection against its abuse. The study should also assist leaders in reevaluating power strategies and tactics, and provide an awareness of potential power misuse even in situations where it is manifested in an apparent innocent and appropriate manner.

The significance for the religious community, with its built-in suspicion that the use of power is fraught with dangers, is that it will clarify some of the ambiguities and establish the awareness that there are acceptable ways of using power. Religious leaders can make conscious, deliberate choices as they adopt a transformational, empowering approach modeled after Jesus Christ the "Master/Leader." Since Christian organizations invariably attempt to follow the biblical imperative and model Jesus' methods in their transactions, an assessment of this approach should be particularly helpful to Christian leaders attempting to adopt an ethical approach to the use of power. If Christian power or a Christian approach to power exists, this study will seek to identify how it manifests itself, and also solidify some of the fragmented thoughts on the use of power in religious organizations.

Definition of Terms

The terms which need to be clarified in the context of this study are:

Religious Organization: Used synonymously with Christian organization.

This term may also be used to refer to organizations which are not necessarily Christian but which foster religious goals and ideals.

Christian Organization: Those organizations which have a higher allegiance than the basic purpose of the organization, where members in the organization share a common allegiance to God. The organization is concerned with some specifically defined Christian task.

Power: The ability to act and effect an outcome.

Influence: That aspect of power which serves to effect some change or modification without the use of actual or threatened sanction.

Authority: Having the power and right to effect one's purpose. Authority manifests itself most clearly in relationships between supervisors and subordinates in work organizations.

Manipulation: Those outcomes which are effected through a disguised use of power.

Case Study: The examination of a phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, or an institution.

Cross-Case Analysis: The process by which data are collected and analyzed from several cases.

Ideology: A system of beliefs and values that has real plausibility and coherence.

Persuasion: Argument intending to convince someone of the need to do something.

Force: The ability to impose restricting obstacles to another person's

freedom, or inflict pain, discomfort, or violence.

Overview of Literature

The literature reviewed focused on the forms, bases, definitions, and execution of power. In the selection of such literature there is a bias toward an organizational perspective which unfortunately narrows down the literature substantially. In the broader debate there seems to be some hesitation to study the issues of power directly. Even though there is more available on the subject since the 1970s , there is still the tendency to view organizations from outside, apart from their functions (Mintzberg, 1983).

Although the concept is ubiquitous and familiar to most persons, there remains strong disagreement as to a common definition of power. Russell (1938) defined power generally as the production of intended effects, while Kanter (1977) observed that it is the ability to do. A more widely used definition of the phenomenon placed it in the context of social interaction in which one party seeks to affect another (Bierstedt, 1950; Cobb, 1984; Covey, 1991; Dahl, 1957; Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972). In organizational life it is more frequently defined as the capacity to effect outcomes (Kanter, 1977; Pfeffer, 1981; McCall, 1981; Mintzberg, 1983).

Some writers on power offer abstract forms that power takes, such as control, influence, and authority (Burbules, 1986; Cartwright, 1959). Nyberg (1981) suggested force, finance, fealty, and fiction; Galbraith (1983) recommended punishment, reward, and manipulation; and Wrong (1979) preferred persuasion and authority. Scholarly works argue strongly for or against these forms of power and lament people's lack of

knowledge of it (Bierstedt, 1950; Cartwright, 1959; French & Raven, 1959; Wrong, 1979). More recently, writers are focusing on the importance of knowledge as the highest form of power (Focault, 1980; Toffler, 1990). In fact it is "gaining importance with every fleeting nanosecond" (Toffler, 1990, p. 466).

Traditional theories have also assumed power as a property of individual persons, wielded instrumentally as a means to particular intended outcomes (Cobb, 1984; Kipnis, 1976; Nyberg, 1981). Much of the tangible literature focuses on power as manifested among individuals. However, the concerns and issues often differ from one level of analysis to another (Cangemi, 1992; Cobb, 1984; Farrell & Peterson, 1982; Roberts, Hilin, & Rosseau, 1978).

The literature on power in organizations is still sparse, but that which is available shows that the discussions on power within organizations are entangled with the politics of organizations. Politics and power combine to retain or obtain control of real or symbolic resources (Bacharach & Lawler, 1981). As task specialization is implemented in organizations, some tasks become more important than others, influence peddling emerges, and individual skills and strategies determine the amount of power acquired and the effectiveness with which it is used. Power is considered as a structural phenomenon and is therefore seen as an integral part of organizations (Kanter, 1977; Knoop, 1992; Mintzberg, 1983; Pfeffer, 1981).

The church as an institution exercises power through its divine origin and authority, which is fundamentally the power and authority of Christ (Blank, 1978; Siebel, 1978). There is strong disagreement among those who attempt to write on power in church organizations. Some suggest that the exercise of power is simply a substitute for

love (Campolo, 1983, Nouwen, 1989), while others contend that its exercise must be modeled after Jesus Christ, in servant leadership forms (Greenleaf, 1977; Roberts, 1987) or for empowerment (Coll, 1987; Jacobsen, 1992; Prior, 1987; Wilfred, 1989). Most writers on the issue of power in the Christian community urge that Christians understand the pervasiveness of power, rather than to pretend that it is an aberration indulged in only by self-seeking individuals. Leaders are also urged to transfer power to others before they are corrupted themselves (Johnson & VanVonderen, 1991; Oswald, 1981; Younger, 1968). Human power is limited, Shriver (1979) added; therefore, organizational leadership should stay within those limits and refrain from playing God. Human leaders should always be aware that there is a higher power to which they are accountable.

The attempts made to address the concept of power in religious organizations are invariably dependent on the Bible as the authoritative source of reference. This becomes a safe haven from which to examine the theories of writers who approach the topic from a non-Christian viewpoint (Cress, 1995; Reimer, 1987) and select forms which are acceptable for use in religious organizations. Still others warn that even the best approaches can be manipulative (Becker, 1965; Forbes, 1983) if leaders use the language of the culture doing and saying the right things. The line between ethical use and/or abuse of power can be imperceptible. Power is often substituted for what is referred to as "the hard task of love" (Forbes, 1983; Nouwen, 1989). If there were genuine displays of love and caring for followers, then leaders would not need to resort to power plays.

The works referenced in this study may be categorized among theorists, scholars, organizational writers, journal and magazine articles, quotable quotes from textbooks and other places in the literature. Among the early theorists and scholars

whose works are used are Russell (1938), Bierstedt (1950), Kaplan and Laswell (1950), Dahl (1957), Simon (1957), Cartwright (1959), and French and Raven (1959). Possibly the most defining work of this era, which served as the basis for later writers, was that of two University of Michigan scholars, French and Raven (1959), whose taxonomy of power (i.e., referent, force, expert, legitimate, and reward) has been widely used and referenced. Later scholars included Bacharach and Lawler (1981), Fairholm (1993), Foucault (1980), Kipnis (1976), Nyberg, (1981),Pfeffer (1992), Therborn (1980), and Wrong (1979), who extended the concepts to include bases and forms of power. Later organizational writers and behaviorists who have taken the concepts even further, defining them in operational terms within the organization, include Pfeffer and Salancik (1974), Kanter (1977), McCall (1979), Pfeffer (1981), and Mintzberg (1983).

The vast majority of writers who addressed the topic of power restricted their work to one or two chapters in a book (Bass, 1981; Covey, 1991; Etzioni, 1961; Heifetz, 1994; Spears, 1995; Stodgill, 1974; Yukl, 1994) a symposium (Zald , 1969); or articles in journals and magazines (Cangemi, 1992, Cobb, 1984; Harsanyi, 1962; Knoop, 1992; McCall, 1978; Mechanic, 1962; Pettigrew, 1975; Presthus, 1960). Some writers have written well-researched articles in scholarly journals which offered good insights on power (e.g., Burbules, 1986; Hollander & Offermann, 1990; Kanter & Stein, 1981; Porter, Allen, & Angle, 1981; Szafran, 1976; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; and Yukl & Tracey, 1992).

In the religious arena, most of the writings could not be considered scholarly works but they offered valuable insights on approaches to power. The vast majority of these writings are homilies and admonitional works written from a theological

perspective, and focusing on the oughtness rather than the actual activity in these organizations. Here again, apart from the works of individuals such as Forbes (1983), Campolo (1983), Prior (1987), Nouwen (1989), Powers (1979), Hagberg (1984), and Johnson and VanVonderen (1991), the citations are restricted to limited references in books (Greenleaf, 1977, 1982; Nouwen, 1989, Yoder, 1973) or articles in religious journals (Coll, 1986; Cress, 1995; Habeker, 1990; Reimer, 1987; Roberts, 1987; and Wilfred, 1989). The literature on power in religious organizations seems to be very limited, and, so far, no empirical study of such organizations has been identified.

The literature search was conducted by means of the computer resources which included the Library Book Catalog, ATLA Religion Index, the Expanded Academic Index, Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) compact discs, and OCLC First Search which gives access to WorldCat where published materials from around the world can be accessed. Each of these areas searched yielded some useful literature, but the resources that were most helpful in identifying current and relevant information were ATLA Religion Index, OCLC First Search, and ERIC, which showed quite a comprehensive list of the discussion recorded in published and unpublished papers, magazines, and journals. The WorldCat database accessed through OCLC First Search identified a number of bibliographic records. For example, when the word "power" was entered, 184,917 records were found.

Since quite a number of those records had no bearing whatsoever on the topic, it because necessary to limit the search. The phrase "power in religious organizations" identified 497 records. Other synonyms such as authority, influence, control, empowerment, among others, were combined with power to identify available

relevant resources. The same procedure was followed in each of the databases previously listed where the search was conducted. Through the process of elimination, a substantially smaller number of entries were selected. Since the focus of the search was on power in organizations, the bibliographic records and abstracts in these areas were closely read to select the relevant information. The records which related to an episodic approach to power were readily selected. Those references which took a dispositional approach were chosen as they identified the basis and forms of power which could give rise to the episodic display.

Some of the classic works of the 30s, 50s, and 60s were chosen because they were frequently referenced and used by writers to provide a basis for the discussion on power. They are also utilized in the current debate to establish credibility and to serve as a base for the discussion. Such earlier works included Russell (1938), Bierstedt (1950), Dahl (1957), French and Raven (1959), Presthus (1960), and Wrong (1968). Despite the existence of the concept from time immemorial, the discussion seemed only to have picked up intensity around the middle of the 20th century, hence the paucity of available earlier works. One such early work on power is Machiavelli's The Prince, which is a classic example of how power should not be used, at least according to contemporary thought on the use of power. Careful detective work, weighing clues and evidence, was employed in forming a basis for the theories suggested.

Methodology

Selecting Methodology

This non-experimental research design used a documentary/case-study

approach to effect its findings. The primary focus of this study was to describe how power is used in religious organizations and why religious leaders use power the way they do. According to Yin (1989), "How" and "Why" questions are appropriate for case studies and historical designs, hence the choice of this methodology for the study.

Chapter 2 of this study documented the theories that were found in the literature. There is a preponderance of materials on power in general, but few focus on its function in organizations, especially religious organizations. The literature was carefully analyzed to identify the major components of power that would be relevant to religious organizations. Because of the scope and complexity of the phenomenon, only the areas relevant to the study were identified in the literature and discussed. Religious organizations function within a social setting in which there is an awareness of, and interactions with, the prevailing power principles and practices of secular organizations. These prevailing practices often influence religious organizations. A look at the power practices of secular organizations is necessary to establish a framework for the rest of the study.

Yin (1989) suggested that the historical/documentary method can overlap with case studies when contemporary events are being studied. The documentary approach was used because the study did not require any control or observation of variables, and the theories suggested by the literature were used to inform the case studies. In fact Strauss and Corbin (1990) urged that theories should be used to approach and interpret the data encountered in the field during the case studies. Not only was this approach used in the study but the theories also served as a source of data, to stimulate questions, and as supplementary validation.

Case studies (Chapters 3-5) were combined with the documentary method

because, according to Yin (1989), it is the preferred strategy in examining a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Through the case studies the researcher came into close contact with the subjects of interest during direct observation and obtained access to such subjective factors as thoughts, feelings, and desires. In this way the "net" for evidence is widely spread (Merriam, 1988). This method placed the researcher in the midst of what was being studied and from this vantage point, the phenomenon was examined as perceived by the informants. Such accounts according to Berg (1989) must be considered factual. As the data were selected and interpreted, it gave a sense of what the observed world is really like.

In essence, both approaches complement each other in the sense that one identified the theory and the other examined and described what actually took place in the natural setting. The end product is a holistic, intensive description and interpretation of power in selected religious organizations.

Data-Gathering Techniques

The general qualitative gathering techniques used included reviewing the literature for information on the role of power in the interactions occurring in organizational life, especially religious institutions. The specific case-study techniques used were interviewing, observation, note taking and reviewing documents. Interviewing was the primary data-collection procedure used in conjunction with participant observation. Stainback and Stainback (1988) agreed that "interviewing provides the researcher a means to gain a deeper understanding of how the participants interpret a situation or

phenomenon that cannot be gained through observation alone" (p. 52). The aim is to illuminate the study's question, and the concern is with the richness of the information (Crabtree & Miller, 1992). The remaining discussion on methodology deals with the process of analysis and validation of the case studies, which is critical to this study.

Data Analysis

Qualitative content-analysis technique was employed to analyze the data. Berg (1988) defined content analysis as a technique that makes inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages. Bassett (1991) added that content analysis "involves making inferences about data involving human communication and interaction" (p. 48).

Content analysis was done in two stages. First, the data were coded and categorized chronologically into a case record or data base by subject and by site (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1984). The database was read several times to look for patterns that occurred (Bogdan & Bilkin, 1982). The two critical aspects of this process were the formulation of the categories and identification of the units. The categories are concepts indicated by the data. The units consist of the single words, phrases, statements, and abstractions from the data which are relevant to the study's purpose. The second and final stage of content analysis was the drawing of inferences from the data. This process actually began during the coding and categorizing of data, but further analysis of the categories was necessary. Both stages therefore overlapped. All the tactics for analysis were designed to reduce the case-study data to a manageable size so that a sense of their meaning could be conveyed to the reader (Merriam, 1988).

Basically, what is done here was "discovering what is important, what is to be learned, and deciding what to tell others" (Bogdan & Bilkin, 1982, p. 145).

Validation

Researchers apply certain concepts to determine the credibility of a study. Some of them as applied to this research are validity, reliability, generalizability, and authenticity (Yin, 1989). Crabtree and Miller (1992), though not discounting the use of these concepts in qualitative research, preferred equivalent concepts as credibility, dependability, and confirmability, which are generally verified by triangulation and independent audits. This study used the concepts suggested by Yin (1989) and is validated in the way it relates to these concepts, which in qualitative research are generally interrelated.

Reliability and validity of data

According to Merriam (1988), "reliability refers to the extent to which one's findings can be replicated. In other words, if the study is repeated, will it yield the same results?" (p. 170). Guba and Lincoln (1981) showed the relationship between validity and reliability and suggested that "it is impossible to have internal validity without reliability, a demonstration of internal validity amounts to a simultaneous demonstration of reliability" (p. 120).

One way of establishing ethnographic validity is through triangulation (Houle, 1984), which is using multiple methods and data sources to enhance the validity of the research findings (Mathison, 1988). It is essentially a strategy that will aid in the elimination of bias and allow the dismissal of plausible rival explanations such that a

truthful proposition about some social phenomenon can be made (Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Denzin, 1978; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). Another way of ensuring validity is to spend extended periods of time at the research site and use member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Merriam, 1986). During this process, participants review data for accuracy and give additional input. The constant comparison strategy (Bogdan & Bilkin, 1982; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984) was used, in addition to the two previously mentioned, to establish validity in this study. The strategy is outlined as follows:

1. Collecting data on the topic from a number of cases

2. Identifying key issues or recurrent events in the data that become categories for focus

3. Collecting data that provide many incidents of the categories of focus, to discover diversity of the dimensions under the categories

4. Writing the categories explored, describing and accounting for all the incidents in the data, searching for new incidents, formulating new categories, and deleting non-usable categories

5. Working with the data to discover basic patterns and relationships

6. Comparing specific incidents in the data, refining the categories, identifying the properties, exploring their relationship with one another, and integrating them into a coherent theory

The data for this study were collected over a five month period of time as the researcher sought to triangulate by verifying information obtained from the interviews through observations and reviewing documents. The constant comparison strategy listed above was also used, and finally the written case reports were returned to the principals

to check for accuracy. The expanded field notes were systematized to leave an audit trail allowing a person not involved in the research to examine and grasp the approach taken.

Generalizability

External validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations. Guba and Lincoln (1981) pointed out that the study must first be internally valid, for "there is no point in asking whether meaningless information has any general applicability" (p. 115). Case studies usually have high internal validity and are particularly suited to reader generalizability; that is, the extent to which the study's findings apply to other situations is up to the people in those situations (Merriam, 1988).

This study adopted a reader generalizability approach. "As readers recognize essential similarities to cases of interest to them, they establish the basis for naturalistic generalization" (Stake, 1978, p. 7). The reader will need to determine what is there in this study that applies to his/her own situation, and what clearly does not apply (Walker, 1980). According to Merriam (1988) this practice is common in law and medicine where it is the practitioner who determines whether one case is applicable to another. To further enhance the possibility for generalizability, the study's context is described. This description supplies information on what the reader may need to know in order to understand the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Those interested in transferability have a base of information appropriate to their judgment. Additionally, cross-case analysis is done to build abstractions across cases and to increase the potential for generalizing beyond one particular case.

Summary

A research design requires the development of a theoretical framework for the case studies. This theoretical framework was developed by reviewing the literature on power as well as by the assumptions, concepts, and presuppositions that orient thinking and research. Because the study adopts the inductive approach, the first step here was to look at the big picture and then select a point of focus. That point of focus became the use of power by leaders in religious organizations.

Since careful observation is crucial to understanding how a phenomenon operates within a context, the case study approach was chosen. The case studies allowed for information to be gleaned by focusing on what the phenomenon means within that context. It permitted intensive analysis without committing the researcher to any limited set of variables. In this way critical relationships were found. As outlined in the methodology, there was no manipulation of the theory nor was an outcome predetermined; patterns emerged spontaneously. The case studies were used to examine the theories that were suggested by the literature. The theory defined the research design and data collection and was used as a vehicle for generalizing the results of the case studies.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 serves as a preamble to the study. It gives the background to the study, a statement of the problem, the purpose, significance, methodology, overview of literature, definition of terms, and organization of the study.

In chapter 2, the theoretical aspects of power are the focus. The literature is reviewed and a discussion on power in religious and non-religious organizations is

presented. The factors that give rise to power, how it is displayed in organizations, and what makes the difference in religious organizations are identified and discussed.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 present the three descriptive case studies that were conducted to describe the real-life context in which the phenomenon occurs. The case studies describe how principals in three religious schools used their power in leading their institutions. These case studies were based on the data gathered through participant observation and ethnographic interviews.

Chapter 6 records the analysis that was done across cases to address the questions of interest in the study, vis-à-vis, how power is used by principals in religious institutions, what conditions its use, and what religious factors are brought to bear on its use.

Chapter 7 completes the study with the summary, noting the major conclusions reached and suggestions for possible further research.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF POWER IN ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

The concept of power has long engaged many individuals, groups, and organizations and has been prominently featured in organizational literature. However, the question confronting anyone seeking to study power is, Why bother to study it when some scholars view it so contemptuously as a "bottomless swamp" and the "messiest problem of all" (Dahl, 1957, p. 201; Perrow, 1970, p. ix). The answer is self-evident because even though there are many factors which affect an organization, power is a major factor that cannot be ignored since it is the key to understanding how an organization works and accomplishes its goals (Pfeffer, 1981).

Power is everywhere and appears to be a fundamental ingredient necessary for progress and growth. This elusive phenomenon is not the possession of any one individual; it belongs rather to a group wherein there can be checks and balances against its abuse (Wigand, 1988). Abraham Lincoln aptly summed up the dilemma that people face with power when he said that "all men can stand adversity but if you want to test a man's character give him power" (Nyberg, 1981, p. 11). Such is the troublesome, mysterious nature of the concept, yet almost everyone will agree that it is indispensable.

The issue of power cannot be discussed without also addressing the politics of

power. Who has power over whom, and who decides what for whom--this is essentially the structure of the political aspects of power. Prior (1987) suggested that in the days of Jesus the politics of power surrounded who would be king. Today, it is who will lead. Clearly, power and its political implications are closely intertwined with the leadership issues. It is at the leadership level that the most obvious display of power is recognized and it is in the leadership position that power is most often examined. The display of power, however, is not confined to the leadership process. Individuals possess power and groups or organizations have power which they confer on an individual occupying a leadership position to carry out the goals of that group or organization.

According to Engstrom (1979), Christian organizations model their operations and leadership after Jesus Christ, that is, the principles and methods which He employed in relating to His disciples, and on which the Christian Church was founded. Such a display of leadership power, which affirms and empowers subordinates, is still considered apropos to organizational growth even in non-religious organizations (Greenleaf, 1977, Spears, 1995). Unfortunately, religious organizations have been influenced by the practices of secular organizations and have adopted a model which allows the flow of power to be vertical, top-down, and open to abuse, rather than circular, flowing from each to each in a dynamic empowering manner.

Blank (1988) pointed out that power is fundamentally a religious term which resides in Omnipotence. The debate on power began in the presence of God in heaven with Lucifer and continued with the disciples during God's last week on earth. It surfaced again in the early Christian Church between Jewish and Gentile Christians and later spread from the Church into the secular arenas from which present religious

organizations adopt some of their power practices--a legacy of the Machiavellian tradition (Forbes, 1981).

Christian organizations and their leaders cannot escape the use of power since it is "the most common denominator linking all human activity" (Forbes, 1981, p. 23), but they need to understand the ambiguous nature of the phenomenon in order to relate to it appropriately. On the one hand, power is positive and human life is unimaginable without it. It is a gift of God that is essential for life and the well-being of society in general. On the other hand, power means domination, death, destruction, oppression, exploitation, and manipulation for some people. It can be a symbol of selfishness both individually and collectively. It is also a source of temptation with deceptive fascination. Its evils do not cease because it is legitimized or exercised in the name of God. The fact that power is exercised by Christian persons or organizations does not immunize them to its pervasiveness or perverseness. History testifies that some of the most inhuman expressions of power have taken place in God's name (Forbes, 1981; Nouwen, 1989; Wilfred, 1989).

The scope of this chapter is limited to a review of power and its related concepts as they impact the organizational setting. This focus is not an attempt to diminish the importance of power relations among other entities, nor is it suggested that it is unimportant, but an episodic approach is chosen for this study.

Definition of Power

Power continues to pose problems for those who wish to understand it and the role it plays in social relationships. A look at some of the classic definitions is

followed by one that is suitable for this study. Power has been characterized as "the fundamental concept in social science . . . in the same sense that energy is the fundamental concept in physics" (Russell, 1938, p. 10), yet there may be no other concept as troublesome as power. Everyone knows what it is until someone asks for a definition (Bierstedt, 1950). It appears that it is far easier to appreciate the importance of power in social relations than it is to understand the concept itself (Cobb, 1984). Given the diversity in interpretation, some scholars have suggested that each person should simply come up with his or her own definition; others have suggested that power is an inherently primitive concept of little analytical value (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Laswell & Kaplan, 1950).

Some earlier theorists on power confined the definition to coercive means, and omitted such terms as authority and persuasion (Bierstedt, 1950; Russell, 1938). Wrong (1979), in his carefully researched book on power, employed such useful typologies as manipulation, authority, persuasion, and influence to classify power. There is also concern with the differences between power and related concepts such as authority, influence, domination, force, and control. Some writers have used the terms interchangeably (Burbules, 1986; Kanter, 1977; Knoop, 1992; McCall, 1979; Mintzberg, 1983; Wrong, 1979), while others have been careful to show the distinctions between them (Bass, 1981; Campolo, 1988; Cangemi, 1992; Habeker, 1990; Jacobsen, 1992; Pfeffer, 1981; Prior, 1987; Yukl, 1981).

There is little agreement as to what power is, from whence it comes and how it can be used successfully. The scholarly consensus is that power is pervasive, interesting, and indispensable (Bass, 1981; Burbules, 1986; Campolo, 1988; Cangemi,

1992; Habeker, 1990; Jacobsen, 1992; Kanter, 1977; Knoop, 1992; McCall, 1979; Mintzberg, 1983; Pfeffer, 1981; Prior, 1987; Wrong, 1979; Yukl, 1981).

The literature reviewed easily points to the ubiquity of power and the various disciplines from which scholars and practitioners are preoccupied with an attempt to understand the phenomenon. It is important to writers in education, religion, psychology, management, sociology, and others who approach power from the perspective of their discipline. Some of these theorists define the concept from a dispositional perspective as the "capacity" or "potential" to effect change (Bierstedt, 1950; Dahl, 1957; French & Raven, 1959; Wrong, 1979), while others adopt an episodic approach which examines power in action--how it is used (Burt, 1977; Fairholm, 1993; Gardener, 1986; Kanter, 1977; Kipnis, 1976; Pfeffer, 1981). Although these approaches appear conceptually distinct, Wrong (1979) observed that they are not mutually exclusive. The exercise of power emerges from the conditions which give rise to the capacity to use it (Cobb, 1984).

Most definitions of power in the organizational setting adopt an episodic approach and describe it as the capacity of one party or social actor to overcome some resistance in achieving particular results (Gardener, 1986; Kanter, 1981; Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974; Mahler, 1975; Zald, 1970). The definition used in this study is operational and considers power as the ability to affect outcomes within the organization. This definition recognizes that the Latin root of the word " power," which is "posse," meaning "to be able" (Nyberg, 1981), implies an action idea. Dahl (1979) cautioned that in English the word "power" poses a problem because it lacks a convenient verb form. Mintzberg (1983) concurred, suggesting that words such as "influencing" and

"controlling," when used to mean power, cause semantic problems. Notwithstanding this semantic difficulty, power as "to be able" is widely used in organizational literature (Cangemi, 1992; Fairholm, 1993; Gardener, 1986; Kanter, 1977, 1981, 1983; McCall, 1979; McCall & Morgan, 1978; Mintzberg, 1983; Pfeffer, 1981; Salanick & Pfeffer, 1977), and from an episodic standpoint seems to be widely accepted. The definition used in this study is broad enough to allow consideration of more research evidence and still preserve the real complexity of power, since there are many ways to define it.

Within the organizational setting, power is a special kind of social relationship which utilizes such characteristics as authority, influence, control, force, persuasion, and manipulation. These characteristics add depth to the definition of power and reveal something of its scope. Fairholm (1993) suggested that these concepts have been the subject of extensive analysis with the result being more confusion than harmony in the definition. Each of these ideas connotes a special characteristic of power and is defined separately.

Authority

The most commonly used synonym for power in the literature is authority. Authority presupposes power and is generally used when power is recognized and legitimized on the basis of law, constitution, tradition, or expertise. These usually provide the right and necessary stability to exercise power (Wilfred, 1989). There is consensus among scholars that legitimacy is pivotal to an understanding of authority. Weber (1947) emphasized the critical role of legitimacy in the exercise of power, pointing out that authority is expected and desired in the social context; and its exercise, rather

than diminishing through use, may actually enhance the amount of power subsequently possessed. Power is transformed into authority and the process is critical to an understanding of authority because the issue becomes the institutionalization of social control (Pfeffer, 1981).

For the most part, scholars are united in their definition and understanding of authority. For Mintzberg (1983, p. 140), "authority is power vested in office or position." Pejza (1994, p. 6) observed that "authority is the right to command given by reason of office." Heifetz (1994) showed that authority is both formal and informal power. The former is granted by legislated mandates and the latter is earned through the reputation of the office holder and the trust of colleagues and subordinates. Kast and Rosenzweig (1974) extended authority to the institutional right to limit choice and employ power. Power, therefore, to be exercised as authority, has to be circumscribed by the institution (Habeker, 1990).

Some scholars see the differences between authority and power as the way they are obtained. Cangemi (1992) observed that power is the capacity to motivate, influence, or entice others, whereas authority is taken or awarded by an organization. Colson (1985), in an experiential article, showed the distinction of authority emerging from a moral foundation, with its exercise based on the right to effect one's purpose. He viewed power as the ability to carry out one's ends often through the use of naked force. Authority is checked by the awarding entity, power is not. Campolo (1987) viewed authority from a similar moral ground, claiming it is the right to persuade others to want to do what the leader commands. He based this definition on the life and activities of Jesus whom he felt used His power in a way that commanded without force. White and

Blue (1985) saw a similar distinction. Authority is the right to do something, whereas power gives one the ability to make others do your will even against their wishes. Authority is also viewed as position power (Fairholm, 1993), wherein the group places more of the total power it has in one individual. In this context, authority is seen as a "power over" relationship rather than a "power with" relationship. This kind of power has more to do with the way the position is treated or exploited than with the role itself (Oswald, 1981).

This distinction between power and authority, if indeed it may be considered a legitimate one, simply shows the nuances that may be applied to a particular concept. Generally speaking, authority is still considered to be power exercised in the sphere of a mandate. Outside of that sphere, whatever is exercised may be power but not authority.

Influence

Influence is seen by these scholars as a function of power without the use of actual or threatened sanction (Bacharach & Baratz, 1970; Bass, 1981; Fairholm, 1993). The most common definition of influence is "that aspect of power which serves to effect some change or modification without the use of actual or threatened sanction" (Bacharach & Baratz, 1970; Bass, 1981; Fairhom, 1993). Like every other aspect of power, there is no agreement on its definition or display.

Bass (1981) did not see influence as synonymous with power, but rather as characteristics that a person possesses and is able to use to effect outcomes. Wilfred (1989) added that this ability to effect change may be accomplished coercively or persuasively. However, Fairholm (1993) and Heifetz (1994) identified force, required

compliancy, or even persuasion in defining influence and chose to see fundamental changes occurring because of respect for the leader arising from past relational experience. Widmer (1995) took influence to another level and added another dimension, calling it the power of attraction. By modeling the type of outcome expected, the threat of punishment is eliminated and the follower chooses to comply or make necessary changes. The implication is that influence is the power to effect internal compliance.

Kanter (1977) and Mintzberg (1983), who related to power primarily from an organizational perspective, failed to see any distinction between power and influence, treating them as synonyms and using them interchangeably in their discussions. McCall (1979) also thought that "it is an unrealistic separation of the phenomenon to consider the power a person has separately from the power (s)he actually uses" (p. 188). One common definitional factor that emerges in all the debates on influence is that it occurs where there is some respect and admiration for a leader's capacity and accomplishments, and where values and ideals are compatible.

Force

There is a serious reliance on earlier literature for a definition of power as force. In fact, this was the primary focus of earlier literature. Later scholars recognized this and attempted to remove this reliance or minimize its significance to the social definition of power. For Bierstedt (1950), power was simply the ability to employ force. Russell (1938) defined power as the production of intended effects. The means to obtain those effects was clearly force. Wrong (1968) saw power as intended successful control over others. French and Raven (1959), who developed a taxonomy of power, not only

categorized force as a power base, but identified it as the power of A over B, which is the maximum force that A can exert on B minus the maximum resisting force that B can mobilize in the opposing direction. Dahl (1957) showed that power as a force coerces B to do what A wants even if B wants to do otherwise.

Force as power is seen as the ability to impose restricting obstacles to another person's freedom, or inflicting pain, discomfort, or violence which may result in death (Yukl, 1981). Force as power is readily recognized in situations in which someone threatens violence (Fairholm, 1993), yet this manifestation is not the fundamental concept of power; rather it is the breakdown of power (Wrong, 1979). Violence appears when power is in jeopardy. Burbules (1986) equated force with domination, and argued that it is always the power of one over another with the "over" signifying the lack of minimal compliance by the victim. Force, he pointed out, is usually more effective in preventing action than in eliciting it.

Manipulation

If force is considered overt display of power in which the object is aware of the use of forms of power, manipulation is seen as the covert exercise of power in which the power user conceals the form(s) of power employed. "The key to manipulation is masking intent to affect the other person's behavior directly" (Fairholm, 1993, p. 175). This approach to power is evident as people become more sophisticated and there is pressure to restrain the overt use of power to a more covert, manipulative approach (Greenleaf, 1977). Wrong (1979) observed that when the power holder conceals his intent from the power subject he is attempting to manipulate the latter. He further

described manipulation in the following way: "When B is not aware of A's intention to influence him, but A does in fact manage to get B to follow his wishes, we can say we have an instance of manipulation" (p. 28). Dahl (1953) suggested that successful manipulation may even simulate feelings of free choice and evoke enthusiasm and initiative, but the calculated eliciting of responses destroys the norms of candor and the mutual disclosure of motives which should govern relationships in groups.

Persuasion

Persuasion is argument intending to convince someone of the need to do something. It is a relationship in which A presents arguments to B who independently weighs the contents in the light of B's own values and goals, and accepts or rejects A's communication without consideration of penalty or reward (Fairholm, 1993; Wrong, 1979). The use of force, authority, and manipulation are absent and an interaction involving give-and-take occurs. Fairholm (1993) added that:

> Persuasion is a form of power characterized by sharing. The individuals in the situation begin with different views, information, ideas, biases, and so on. The resulting dialogue convinces one of the other's point of view and, therefore, to take actions that a person would not otherwise have taken. (pp. 177-178)

Persuasion takes place when one achieves a feeling of rightness about a belief or action through one's own intuitive sense. The individual takes the step alone, "untrammeled by coercion or manipulative stratagems" (Greenleaf, 1982, p. 47). Thus defined, persuasion stands in sharp contrast to coercion. There is no threat, exploitation of weakness, sentiments, or application of pressure. Instead of people being manipulated, they are guided into beliefs or actions that they do not fully understand.

Summary

It is not the easiest task to furnish a definition which is comprehensive enough to describe power that will suffice for all the forms it takes. One term for power may be appropriate in one given context and inappropriate in another context, and simply using the term power may be too general to suit another context. The challenge of segmenting power into its various forms may lead one to regard these as natural divisions rather than categories which are socially constructed and actually artificial points of emphasis. The attempt to classify the discreet forms that power takes may detract from the interrelated aspects of certain elements such as influence, persuasion, and manipulation. These characteristics, however, add depth to the definition of power and reveal something of its scope, extent, and domain. Even though the distinctions appear to be confusing and unnecessary, they are useful to an understanding of the different forms that power takes. In such cases, specific distinctions are more helpful than the generic term "power." All these definitions represent the means by which an actor may achieve an intended effect on another's behavior.

The Bases of Power

A common approach to the study of power is to identify the bases which give rise to displays of power. These bases are sometimes referred to as currencies, assets, resources, or values (Cangemi, 1992; McCall, 1979; Oswald, 1981; Wrong, 1979). In the very basic sense, according to Mintzberg (1983), the power that an individual has in or over an organization reflects some dependency that organization has or some uncertainty that it faces. This gives rise to the exercise of power resident in (1) a resource, (2) a

technical skill, or (3) a body of knowledge, any of which may be critical to the organization. To serve as a basis of power, whatever is controlled must be essential to the functioning of the organization; it must be concentrated, in short supply, and non-substitutable (Gardener, 1986; Kipnis, 1976; Mintzberg, 1983).

Any discussion on power bases should recognize the primary work of French and Raven (1959) who identified and defined five types of power: legitimate power, coercive power, reward power, expert power, and referent power. They define these bases of power as follows:

1. Legitimate power is based on the perception that one has the right to influence or prescribe another's behavior.

2. Coercive power is based on the ability to punish the subject/object for non-compliance.

3. Reward power is based on the perception that one has the ability to reward another.

4. Expert power is based on special ability and knowledge that one has that the subject/object would like to have or use.

5. Referent power is the ability to attract or generate a feeling of oneness with another.

Fairholm (1993) and Patchen (1974) viewed French and Raven's typology as a useful foundation for understanding the sources of power, but believed their topology has limited thinking about and research into alternative foundations of operational power. There are many other sources of power available to the active power user which help to round out the nature of any working power system.

Gardener (1986) added strength, custom, and beliefs as other power sources. McCall (1979) suggested people as a resource that can enhance power, to which Kanter (1977) and Pfeffer (1979) concurred, stating that alliances can increase power dramatically. Toffler (1980) suggested that violence, wealth, and knowledge have been critical power bases. However, contemporary society has recognized the importance of knowledge to the extent that there is a significant shift from the first two to a greater appreciation for knowledge. Oswald (1981) also noted that in religious organizations the power bases that are most essential are reputation, the ability to form coalitions of like-minded people, the ability to access important information within the system, and the position occupied in the official structure. Dahl (1961) advanced an even more comprehensive and particularized list of resources available to politicians for influencing others:

> An individual's own time, access to money, credit, and wealth, control over information, esteem or social standing; the possession of charisma, popularity, legitimacy, legality . . . ; the rights pertaining to public office; solidarity: the capacity of a member of one segment of society to evoke support from others who identify him as like themselves because of similarities in occupation, social standing, religion, ethnic origin, or racial stock ; the right to vote, intelligence, education, and perhaps even one's energy level. (p. 226)

In discussing the bases of power, the focus is on the power holders and the various resources they can bring to the power relation that enable them to exercise such power. These bases of power are infinitely varied, but in this study the focus on these specific bases such as (1) resources, (2) expertise, (3) reputation, (4) legitimacy, and (5) beliefs shows the relevance to the organizational structure and activities.

Resources

Resources are commodities, tangible or intangible, (1) that are possessed by power holders, (2) that if given to subjects will provide them with positive outcomes, or if withheld prevent occurrence of negative outcomes, and (3) that the subject believes cannot be obtained outside of their relationship with the power holder (Kipnis, 1976). Control of resources is a major theme in the research on power. Virtually anything that is valued by others which they cannot obtain elsewhere is considered a resource and essentially a power source for whoever controls it (Kipnis, 1976; McCall, 1978). Some of these resources include control of information (McCall, 1978; Mechanic, 1962; Pettigrew, 1972), rewards and punishments (French & Raven, 1959), authority to influence organizational structure, personnel, expertise, prestige (Kanter, 1977; Pettigrew, 1973; Pfeffer, 1981), strength, property, personal attractiveness, persuasive gifts, money, and other commodities (Gardener, 1986; Pfeffer, 1981). The possession of these resources that may be employed to wield power over others is not a guarantee that they will in fact be so employed. Wrong (1979) illustrated that the wealthy miser who chooses to live in poverty and conceals his wealth rather than using it to control the activities of suppliers has a potential power base which, if not employed, remains dormant. However this is used, whether by coercive or manipulative means, it brings into focus the actual display of power, which is dealt with below. How effective this power base is will depend on the way it is used and the particular goals sought.

Resources can be used for the purpose of providing desired rewards or imposing undesirable results. Fairholm (1993) suggested that rewards are more commonly used by people in organizational hierarchies to control behaviors and achieve

desired results, since they have access to materials, information, and emoluments. French and Raven (1959) pointed out that reward power is simply based on one's perception that another is in a position to provide rewards for approved behavior. The person who occupies a hierarchical position is perceived as having that ability to provide rewards and is usually the possessor of that power base.

Like rewards, coercive force allows those higher in the hierarchy to affect others' behavior and secure compliance. French and Raven (1959) suggested that this base of power lies in the ability to command compliance. Coercion is evident when leaders impose punishing consequences on those who fail to obey (Cress, 1995; Fairholm, 1993). This type of power is generally displayed in militaristic organizations (Fairholm, 1993; Wrong, 1979).

Control of resources represents a broad array of power sources, especially scarce resources (McCall, 1978). Pfeffer (1981) argued that some resources are more critical to an organization and some are more difficult to obtain. It is the individual(s) who can provide the most critical and difficult to obtain resources who come to power in organizations and ultimately exercise control over those power bases.

Expertise

Expertise is a resource and by itself a power base. For French and Raven (1954), it is a primary source of power, based on the perception that the other has some special knowledge or expertise. As with other power bases it is firmer when it is needed and relevant. Power flows to those people who have the technical skills, knowledge, and abilities needed and respected by other people (Bass, 1980; Fairholm, 1993; Mintzberg,

1983). The members in a group who have relevant information about a task will attempt to lead and will likely succeed since groups tend to defer to the actual and perceived expert. Fairholm (1993) advanced the idea that people respond to competence, which comes from the ability to perform, irrespective of one's role in the hierarchy. If an organization has a major problem, the natural response is to find internal or external experts to address the situation. If the problem is financial, the organization will likely seek the assistance of financial wizards. If they are successful in solving the problem, Pfeffer (1977) suggested that the power they acquired in that situation can extend far beyond the specific area in which they are experts.

Almost any kind of knowledge, expertise, or skill may be a source of power depending on the circumstances. Fairholm (1993) predicted that understanding organizations and organizational growth will be an important power base in the future. Gardener (1986) added that knowledge of complex organizational arrangements is a critical power base since almost all leadership is exercised through such channels. David Mechanic (1962) advanced the idea that expertise is an important power base in organizations, since subjects generally depend on the experts for the performance needed within the organization. However, a major problem with expert power as a power base is that it depends on the perceptions of others which Patchen (1974) believed are not always accurate. McCall (1977) summed up the concern with expert power thus: "(1) others have to believe you have it, (2) you have to be visible enough to be called upon to use it, and (3) the very use of it may obviate the need for it" (p. 111).

Legitimacy

In formal organizations, power flows from those who are given the right to command. They are given the authority which legitimizes the right to coerce, punish, or reward individuals in the leaders' attempt to achieve goals. The key word here is legitimate. This legitimate right is given officially to the leader by the organization or group which allows him/her to behave in "expedient ways to achieve organizational goals" (Cangemi, 1992, p. 499). The perception of legitimacy in the power target's mind is also critical, because without the leader having the right to command there is no basis for power use in the situation (Burbules, 1986; Fairholm, 1993). If the legitimacy is not accepted, however official that right is, there is no legitimacy at all. Bass (1980) suggested that legitimate power is also based on the norms and expectations of the group members regarding the behavior of the leader. His/her ability to effectively use the power resident in the role is derived from such norms and expectations.

French and Raven (1959) suggested three bases of legitimate power: (1) cultural values, endowing some members with the right to exercise power; (2) occupancy of a position which was organized to confer authority; and (3) appointment by a legitimate body. They pointed to position power as the primary focus of power with legitimate organizational authority its principal component. Michener and Burt (1975) concurred. Their studies of college students indicated that the endorsement of a leader's rights to exercise power was not as important to their compliance as recognition of the authority of the leader's office. This authority is augmented by the flow of resources through the position. These give rise, in turn, to coercive, reward, enabling, and information power used by the occupant of the position to manipulate the situation and

subject (French & Raven, 1959; Gilman, 1962; Harsanyi, 1962; Pettigrew, 1973). The formal position occupied by the agent and also the subject has a deep impact on what resources are available to the agent and how they can be used in the power situation (Cartwright, 1965; Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Porter et al., 1981).

Position power comes by virtue of the position or office held. By being appointed or elected, the leader receives designated power not only from the top but also from those being led. The leader needs total legitimacy to effectively utilize his/her assumed/accorded power base which is only available for the duration of the time that the position is occupied.

Reputational Power

Reputational power is held by persons of high credibility inside the organization with the capacity to influence others. French and Raven (1959) described this power as referent power--the degree to which followers like and respect the leader. This referent power has to do with relationships which involve modeling and identification with the leader who is usually a high-prestige person (Bass, 1980). Modeling and identification seem to be the primary activators of this power. This referent power is only in existence where relationships are attractive (Coll, 1986; Oswald, 1981; Reimer, 1987).

Stephen Covey (1992) claimed that followers are attracted to a leader who has principle-centered power. This, he claimed,

> is based on the power some people have with others because others tend to believe in them and in what they are trying to accomplish. They are trusted. They are respected. They are honored. And they are followed because others want to

> follow them, want to believe in them and their cause, want to do what the leader wants (p. 102).

Such leaders exert tremendous influence on their followers. In some instances, as in the case of some movie stars and sports figures, they exert much more influence than what their personal virtues or capabilities may warrant. The prestige which leaders often obtain is derived from the personal qualities they possess which are admired and respected (Coll, 1986).

People identify with powerful individuals if they can benefit by adhering to their ideals, norms, goals, and values (Fairholm, 1993). However, a relationship has to have some quality and distinction to it. A leader honors the followers who reciprocate by doing, of their own free will, what the leader wants. Such a leader then influences others because of who they are, what they believe in, and what they do--examples, value, and behavior. In this way, principle-centered power is created (Covey, 1992). Reputational power exists in the sphere of the relational. It is activated when one sees effective modeling, senses that there is opportunity for identification, and feels honored. It exerts a positive influence, but the potential also exists where the extreme is possible, when one is idolized to the point that one can do no wrong.

Beliefs

Gardener (1986) observed that human beings are believing animals. It is their belief system which supplies meaning to their lives, consoles them, and guides their conduct. The leader who understands that and acts accordingly has tapped a source of power. Belief is conceived as a framework of legitimation and a rationale for existing power relations. It becomes a key element in the web of power if they are valued as

divinely ordained and beneficent (Burbules, 1986; Lukes, 1974). If the system of ideas is deeply rooted in the culture/organization, it can play a significant role in legitimizing leaders and validating their actions (Gardener, 1996).

Individuals who hold power or seek to hold power have minimized the cost when people have similar beliefs and values that give legitimacy to the leaders. This belief has a way of generating positive enthusiasm for a particular course of action or state of affairs. They can be facilitative and attractive, helping people make sense of their world, their organization, and their place in it (Burbules, 1986; Gardener, 1986).

This power base, like others, is subject to abuse. Those in power are sometimes inclined to use the belief system merely as a convenience, appealing to it when they need it, violating it when they choose (Gardener, 1986). They can also be hegemonic if they constitute unquestioned assumptions. Because most people take their beliefs and values for granted, they are also likely to accept the most minimally plausible account a leader may give if it fits their experiences and prejudices (Burbules, 1986).

Summary

Possession and control of the sources of power are crucial to effective power use. Another important factor is the visibility of the individual who possesses the power base. As shown, if the base is not tapped it remains only a potential power base and consequently of no significance to the organization. The position that an individual occupies within the organization greatly determines the effectiveness with which the resources will be employed to effect organizational goals. Effectiveness is complete if the position is legitimized by official channels and the leader is validated by the group

because he or she shares their beliefs and values, has the character to command respect and compliance, and has the expertise to perform competently.

Forms of Power

Power displays itself in any relationships involving two or more persons and is therefore inescapable in organizational life. In fact, if it is not used it serves no purpose. Given that power has to be used, the question becomes, What form is such use likely to take? With the diversity of power bases and the range of situations in which power may be used, specific power forms are likely to be numerous. Tedeschi and Bonoma (1972) concurred that "to focus upon the means by which one person can influence another is tantamount to examining all of the basic types of social interactions which can take place" (pp. 8-9).

Knoop (1992) classified power forms into three categories: personal, interpersonal, and situational. Personal power, he claimed, is one's capacity to perform and express power through self-knowledge and expertise. Interpersonal power is evident whenever one person influences another through events, through referent, reward, or coercive means. Situational power is where one's position, access to information, and control over the structure are used to effect organizational outcomes. Reimer (1987) identified five forms of power, using French and Raven's classic typology, legitimate power, coercive power, reward power, referent power, and expert power. Nyberg (1981) offered the following typology: force, fiction, finance, fealty, conflict, authority, and consent as forms of power. He explained that fiction is a power form used especially in schools when teachers tell stories to motivate students to do better than they believe

they can. Fealty, which is faithfulness and loyalty based on trust, is the highest form of power relationship that emerges when all the basic forms are in stable conformation. In finance as a form of power, he argued that power displays itself when an employer buys time and labor from employees with wages.

The concept of power which is raised in this study subsumes all resources that may be deployed in its exercise. These can summed up in useful typologies as force, manipulation, persuasion, influence, and authority (Fairholm, 1993; Wrong, 1979). Other categories meeting different needs, which are not explored here, have also been observed (see Cartwright, 1965; Etzioni, 1961; Kipnis, 1976; Pettigrew, 1975). The foregoing forms, which are each addressed, are differentiated according to the various reasons and motives for display and compliance by the power player and power subject.

Force

Frequently force refers to physical or biological force. Yukl (1994) described this form of power as the ability to impose obstacles restricting another's freedom or inflicting pain or discomfort. In French and Raven's (1959) classic study, it is identified as the base of power with the ability to control another's behavior to exact compliance.

In organizations, force displays itself as the manager's ability to influence through coercion, threat, or punishment. Knoop (1992) believed that such forms are not blatantly expressed in organizations which demand adult services, but in subtle ways they exist, as when someone is prevented from obtaining desired rewards. That is a form of punishment. Coll (1986) suggested that force is applied when one's will is imposed on another and often involves sanctions and constraints.

It is recognized that force can denigrate into violence or be exercised on rational people to extract submission against their will, but such forms are not the focus here. The emphasis rather is on legitimate organizations in which force relies on formal authority. McCall (1978) argued that coercion actually takes place in situations in which other methods have failed, or in which immediate compliance is essential. Kanter (1977) also made the connection between force and authority, but extended the idea further to include the "resorting to rules," a type of enforcement that is typical of the powerless. Rather then being the primary manifestation of power, force is viewed as the evidence of the breakdown of power (Wrong, 1979).

Force is seen to be most effective, then, in achieving desired behaviors and preventing undesirable ones, more in restricting than in enabling (Coll, 1986; Fairholm, 1993; Wrong, 1979). Coll (1986) posited that force in itself is not evil and there can be justifiable reasons for its use, as when a person is not capable of making rational decisions. Fairholm (1993) added that it is in the realm of prevention of undesired behavior that force is most often used, but even so, it limits freedom and independence.

Other research suggested that force is generally ineffective (Fairholm, 1993; Webber, 1975; Yukl, 1981). It does forestall opposition and probably elicits some cooperation, but has a limited effect in gaining sustained positive action.

Authority

As significant as other forms of power are, authority is the element most often displayed in relationships of power. In fact, before other forms of power can be effectively displayed, they need to be legitimized through some form of authority. To

persuade, force, influence, or manipulate others, the power player needs to have some authority in the group. Authority is associated with some institutional arrangement which legitimizes the ability to act (Burbules, 1986). Authority comes from the position held and the expectations of the followers, and "it is often logical, reasoned, and systematic in its application and use" (Fairholm, 1993).

In social systems, power finds its legitimation on three different levels: (1) office, (2) person, and (3) the acts of rule that are carried out (Siebel, 1988). Authority power is often observed in orders issued by superiors to subordinates. Barnard (1948) described this power use as part of the communication in formal organizations. It is part of the governance that determines who does what in an organization. Fairholm (1993) added that this is also a coercive form of power.

Max Weber (1947), in his classic analysis of authority, described three forms: rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic, to which Wrong (1979) added competence. Each type implies a separate sphere in which authority functions. One's authority may come from the position granted by superiors and be based on the legality and logic of the rules and laws. It can also be a delegation in the traditional sense, in which deference is given to an individual because it is expected within the organization. Customs and traditions in this case assume the prerogative of law because "we have always done it this way" (Coll, 1986). Authority is also based on the ability of an individual to inspire devotion because of the force of his appeal. Finally, competent authority is "a power relation in which the subject obeys the directives of the authority out of belief in the authority's superior competence or expertise to decide which actions will best serve the subject's interest and goals" (Wrong, 1979, p. 53).

Authority/power appears to have a relationship to the acceptance by the subordinate of a superior. Knoop (1992) recommended that in exercising authority, one should be sensitive to age and status, and if need be, refer to policies, contracts, or job descriptions for reinforcement. He also suggested that as a way of eliminating tensions, administrators should make requests clearly and preferably in writing. Until others perceive the situation to be reasonable and acceptable, no real outcome will be effected (Fairholm, 1993).

Authority represents, perhaps, the most evident form of power use in organizations, easily recognized because of its association with a position. Also critical to the idea of who has or who displays authority is its legitimacy, both in terms of how it is gained and its acceptance by the followers.

Influence

The influence process in organizations is directed (1) internally to produce organized committed action, and (2) externally as part of the legitimization of the organization in the social context. In both cases the influencer seeks to give perspectives which appear to be harmonious with the prevailing social values or with the goals of those whose support is being courted (Fairholm, 1993; Pfeffer, 1981). In this influence process an attempt is being made to change the behavior of others. The influencer usually operates from a legitimate position and has the ability--whether personal or situational--to influence others using the means at his/her disposal (Bass, 1981; Yukl, 1994).

Organizations are social settings in which there are interactions with peers and

others. Individuals in these settings are influenced by what those around are doing and saying. "We are swayed by the things others are doing to get us to like them and feel good about them" (Pfeffer, 1992, p. 207). Power holders, who provide information which forms the basis of judgments, express a liking for colleagues. These emotions can be effective in influencing behavior. The rule of reciprocity is invoked in that people usually respond in like manner to what they are receiving (Pfeffer, 1992).

In classifying the means of influence in organizations, Kipnis (1976) limited them to one form--control. He claimed that when power holders exercise control over a subject's physical movement or environment, information available, attitude, work, and rate of pay, and the subject's access to them, that they (power holders) control the means to influence and often use it to their advantage. John R. French (1993) identified five distinct forms of influence which are available to power holders and may be useful depending on the situation: legitimate, reward, coercive, expert, and referent powers. The first three are recognized as organizational power and the last two are personal power. These are all used in organizations to influence outcomes in terms of behavior, performance, task completion, job satisfaction, absenteeism, and turnover (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996). Research has shown that influence behaviors based on legitimate power are more successful if they are reasonable (Yukl, 1994). Any of the five forms that Raven (1993) identified can be used in a legitimate way.

Some researchers have identified behaviors which can influence individuals such as rational persuasion, inspirational appeal, consultation, ingratiation, personal appeals, exchange, coalition tactics, legitimating tactics, and pressure (Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl, Lepsinger, & Lucia, 1992; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Leaders may use them

depending on their preferences and the effectiveness of the particular tactic (Yukl, 1994). Influence techniques may be used in positive ways for achieving organizational goals or negatively to foster personal ambition at the expense of the organization. This should not, however, deny their ability to contribute to organizational effectiveness. The nature of the relationship will, to a large extent, determine the morality or immorality of the use of this form of power. Evidently the outcome is to elicit commitment and compliance.

Persuasion

Persuasion is a form of power that is characterized by sharing. It is expressed in a give-and-take situation wherein parties interact in relative equality. "Persuasion is egalitarian power use" (Fairholm, 1993, p. 177). In this relationship form of power, one person considers and agrees with the instructions, values, and ideas of another. In organizations this other is usually the leader who presents his position without the threat of coercion and is accepted solely on the merit of the successful presentation of argument. Bass (1981) suggested that persuasion is an art in which people are influenced not only by argument, but also by example to follow a live action. He added that it is a powerful instrument for shaping expectation and belief, especially in political, religious, and social organizations.

In situations where persuasive forms are employed, individuals usually start with different views, information, biases, and values. In the ensuing dialogue one is convinced of the other's point of view and changes his/her perspective (Fairholm, 1993). When rational persuasion is used to influence a decision, success is dependent on the leader's credibility, persuasive communication skills, technical knowledge, and logical or

analytical ability (Yukl, 1994). Individuals in relationships almost always differ in the abilities they possess, and as they interact they draw on their special abilities to sell their ideas. If leaders, with available resources at their disposal, can confidently present their proposal or request, they already have the advantage (Fairholm, 1993).

Persuasion is dependent on the resources held and the capabilities lacking in others (Fairholm, 1993; Wrong, 1979). In this respect, persuasion is like other forms of power. Just as one must have and be able to use coercive force to a superior degree to gain the advantage, so must one possess more persuasive skills than another to be successful in power situations. While recognizing this fact, Wrong (1979) pointed out that the difference lies in the power subject's total acceptance of the persuader's argument because the subject believes the persuader, and for this reason persuasion becomes the most reliable form of power. It carries the least risk of arousing antagonism and opposition within organizations. Persuasion results in what Nyberg (1981) called commitment through informed judgment.

Manipulation

Manipulation is a form of power that conveys a negative impression, wherever reference is made to it (Fairholm, 1993; Forbes, 1983; Wrong, 1979). Based on experiences, some persons view power as manipulation (Mahler, 1975; Oswald, 1981) when it is achieved through cunning devices. The key to manipulation is that the intent of the power act is masked, yet the follower's behavior is directly affected. Greenleaf (1977) postulated that this form of power is evident when people become sophisticated

and there is pressure to restrain the overt use of power to more covert manipulative approaches.

Any deliberate and successful effort to influence a response, when the desired response is not expressly communicated, constitutes manipulation. This deliberate control of another "field" may take the form of the manipulator acting on information, rewards, and deprivations. This exercise of power is malevolent and is unlikely to elicit any resistance because the subject is unaware of the effort to influence him/her (Wrong, 1979). Wrong further suggested that much of the information that is presented to others, even if it is accurate and intended to aid the recipient, is done with manipulative intents. The uses of advertising, price setting, and public relations efforts are prime targets for manipulative practices (Fairholm, 1993).

Resorting to piety is a form of manipulation which is peculiar to Christian organizations. According to Forbes (1983), this form is usually successful because of the leader's identification with the values and beliefs of the group and the language used to evoke the intended response. Forbes argued that by making the right move, the right contacts, creating the right image, responding to the right questions, making the right hints, leaders manipulate others into accepting their decree without questioning its validity (see p. 90). Even though manipulation can be used to aid in an individual's or organization's development, its covert nature makes it rather difficult to accept. This form of power is a fact of organizational life which the members of the organization must recognize and deal with both theoretically or operationally.

Summary

The interactions between the power player (agent) and the power subject (target) are numerous and difficult to examine. Interesting typologies have been employed to identify some of the possible forms of power. A convenient yet comprehensive classification used here groups such forms under force, authority, influence, persuasion, and manipulation. Some of these forms have both negative and positive aspects and may be used depending on the situation. One of the forms of power with the least redeeming quality is force. The consensus here is that where this is applied, it signifies the breakdown of power. Another noteworthy observation is that for any of these forms to be successfully applied, the power subject has to recognize and accept the action portrayed by the agent. This, of course, excludes manipulation in which the subject is influenced with his/her being aware of it.

Power as a Function of Social Exchange

The operational approach taken to power in this study views it as an aspect of human relations wherein it serves as a function of social exchange within the organizational structure. In this way the study is consistent with the definition offered, in which power is conceived as the ability to affect organizational outcomes. Three assumptions from the corporate world typify most conceptions of power: that power is an individual possession, wielded instrumentally to achieve intended outcomes, and is considered in terms of immediate effects and efficiency (Burbules, 1986). These assumptions, however, fail to address the complex relational aspect of power. According to Barraclough and Stewart (1992), power is primarily a relational phenomena. Social

power is a bilateral quality of the relationship between an agent and a target. Kanter and Stein (1979) observed that "one of the great insights of classical social and political theory was that power always involves a relationship, it always consists of interaction, and therefore, can never be one sided or unilateral" (p. 6).

Giddens (1979) addressed the basis of a relational conception of power:

> Power within social systems can thus be treated as involving reproducible relations of autonomy and dependence in social interaction. Power relations therefore are always two-way, even if the power of one actor or party in a social relation is minimal compared to another. Power relations are relations of autonomy and dependence, but even the most autonomous agent is in some degree dependent and the most dependent actor or party in a relationship retains some autonomy. (p. 83)

Foucault (1980) stressed the point that "one doesn't have here a power which is wholly in the hands of one person who can exercise it alone and totally over others. It's a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised" (p. 156).

Two problems emerge from a relational aspect of power. The first is that power is a relation that is not chosen, but becomes necessary because of the circumstances under which people come together; and second, there is usually some tension between compliance and resistance (Burbules, 1986). The circumstances which draw people together sometimes predispose them to dominant or submissive positions in relationships (Therborn, 1980). Such positions can be resisted if there is no mutual determination of such roles. Even when there is, that tension between compliance and resistance wherein X has power over Y as long as the relationship is not destroyed, Y still empowers X (Burbules, 1986). Foucault (1980) advanced the idea that power would be very fragile if its function was to repress, but it becomes strong because it produces

effects at the level of desire and also at the level of knowledge.

Power should be viewed not only from a framework of prevention, but also from a framework of permission. Instead of seeing power from an individualistic perspective, aimed at obtaining intended results, it is helpful to view it within the framework of the status quo in authority and organizational roles. This conception shows that the relations of power are somewhat reciprocal because of the dynamics of compliance and resistance (Burbules, 1986). A person in a position of power over another in one situation may even be relatively powerless in another situation.

Burbules (1986) questioned whether occupying a position of power is ever justified as a means to legitimate ends, since there are attempts to escape power relationships or seize it for alternative purposes. He also suggested two responses. First, the exercise of power makes the relationship between persons of little intrinsic value, since it was conceived and exercised to attain or maintain certain ends. It becomes a relationship of expedience and limited self-reflection and is only legitimated by familiarity and convenience. Second, power relations tend to change the persons involved by restricting autonomy and making the maintenance of the power relation an end in itself. No one ever seizes power with the intention of relinquishing it. Power is not a means, it is an end. The object of power is power (Burbules, 1986).

One's position of power in a group also carries the potential for achieving control over rewards or punishments. These are usually held by those of the group hierarchy who may also control the setting of norms, values, and other socializing processes (Fairholm, 1993). This exercise of power, however, is fully contingent on the subject's perception of the agent's right and ability to exercise it. Any given attempt to

exercise power is based in the context of prior interactions between agent and target (Barraclough & Stewart, 1992). Social power is bilateral in nature, not resident in one individual but rather in the group.

A Continuum of Power Relations

In the social dimension, three elements in a power relationship define the quality of the relationship between individuals: compliance, coercion, and consent. Compliance is the most difficult category of the three to define because it refers to a broad range of relationships in which individuals cooperate with the demands or expectations of others. Compliance can be voluntary or coerced. The intended result, achieved by whatever means, is referred to as compliance (Burbules, 1986; Fairholm, 1993). Compliance is served by an exchange relation whether by economic, incentive or social compromise. Burbules (1986) noted that "compliance can also be identified in cases where out of habit, ignorance, apathy . . . persons act to encourage or perpetuate a state of affairs" (p. 100).

Consent is seen as the ideal in human relations (Fairholm, 1993). Since there is no background conflict of interest, persons cooperate in a course of action or accept a given state of affairs because they each recognize and approve of a common purpose.

Consensual relations appear when parties concerned are allowed to make informed autonomous decisions. Consensual relations are characterized by egalitarian social positions, mutual respect and concern, and such results as caring, affection, loyalty, and trust (Freire, 1970). A consensual relationship, however, does not mean an absence of conflicts. Disagreements, competitiveness, and debates may occur without a conflict

of interest. The common denominators to consensual relationships are cooperation and communication. With these elements in place and a lack of conflict of interest one comes closest to avoiding a "power over" situation (Burbules, 1986).

Fairholm (1993) added another perspective which he considers important to a consensual relationship: respect and admiration for the idea or the person seeking compliance. The crucial element in such a relationship, however, is that the consent must be given on a voluntary basis.

At the other extreme of the continuum is coercion, which is the virtual negation of these factors. "It begins with an incompatibility of interest, it undermines autonomy even to the point of destroying it, and it represents a contempt for persons and human values" (Burbules, 1986, p. 100). Coercion seeks to elicit compliance as a way of maintaining surface legitimacy, but it also tends to destroy social relations. If the agent and the target have antithetical values or needs, one must sacrifice his or her values to the other (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980). Coercion implies the domination of one person or group over another and the "over" signifies that there is a lack of acquiescence by the target. Usually the target has no choice (Burbules, 1986).

Coercion identified as a base of power (French & Raven, 1959) is a behavior governed by little or no choice and characterized by the dominance-submission mode: if I win, you lose. "It does not lead to effective social leadership for the simple reason that a person whose power drive is fixated at this level tends to treat other people as pawns rather than as origins" (McClelland, 1970).

The goal of power use is to elicit compliance which is best achieved by the voluntary response of the parties involved in the relationship. Forced compliance

undermines the individual's autonomy as well as the leader's far-reaching influence. The positive side of social power is that it is characterized by a concern for the group, which is strengthened to achieve its goals.

Leadership and Power

As with power there is no unanimity on a definition for leadership. Warren Bennis (1989) quite intuitively summed up the dilemma: "The study of leadership isn't nearly as exact as, say, the study of chemistry. For one thing, the social world isn't nearly as orderly as the physical world, nor is it as susceptible to rules" (p. 1). The term "leadership" means different things to different people. It has been defined both by the individual perspective of the researcher and whichever aspect of the phenomenon an individual has interest in. Leadership has also been defined in terms of individual traits, behavior, influence over other people, role relationships, interaction patterns, administrative position, and perception by others regarding legitimacy of influence (Hasking, 1988; Hemphill & Coons, 1957; Jacobs & Jacques, 1990; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Rauch & Behling, 1984; Stodgill, 1974; Tannenbaum, Weschler, & Massarik, 1961).

Most definitions of leadership assume that it involves a social process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person over other people to structure the activities and relationship in a group or organization. For the purpose of this study leadership is considered as occupation of an administrative position and the influence exerted by the individual occupying that position to realize the goals of the organization. This study's aim is not to explore the theories of leadership, but rather to look at the relationship between leadership and power and reiterate the position that the individual

appointed or elected by the organization to perform leadership functions does indeed occupy a position of immense power.

In their study of leaders from various walks of life, Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus (1985) made the distinction between leaders and managers: "A manager does the thing right; a leader does the right thing" (p. 21). The action implication in leadership is that there is power vested in the position. Gardner (1986) stated that "to say a leader is preoccupied with power is like saying a tennis player is preoccupied with making shots his opponent cannot return. Of course, leaders are preoccupied with power" (p. 5). He continued by pointing out that despite the fact that leaders are preoccupied with power it is necessary to distinguish between leaders and power holders. Leaders, he claimed, always have a measure of power, but many power holders have no trace of leadership. Leaders need power in order to be effective. Any leader who lacks power is often less effective (Kanter, 1981). Kanter also suggested that those who are considered powerful in an organization tend to get more cooperation, their needs are met, their suggestions are translated into action, and they can get the resources they need to work effectively

The forms of power most often associated with leadership are authority, influence, and persuasion. The first is vested in the position whereas the other two are a function of the individual. A leader cannot avoid the exercise of authority. It is a major function of the top executive to take the responsibility for resolving the uncertainties that are involved in important decisions (Gardener, 1986). Certain powers are considered to be inherent in the role of the top executive regardless of who the person is at any particular time. The abilities to influence and persuade others are power functions of leadership which are based on who the leader is. Some writers consider leadership as a

process of effectively influencing group, course, action, and opinion toward the achievement of goals (Argyris, 1976; Bass & Avolio, 1993; Bennis & Nanus, 1985). Others argue that it is a process of persuading others to sublimate their self-interest and individual concerns to pursue common goals for the welfare of the organization (Block, 1993; Hogan, 1994).

The ability to influence and persuade are critical to successful leadership. Lacayo (1996) pointed out that leadership can be compromised and thus become ineffective if officials allow themselves to be swayed by public opinion. Leaders should not pursue power in such a way that they cannot show the well-defined character which wins disciples. When one has influence one has the power to gain assent and to attract a following. To have this kind of influence a leader must have "a vision that inspires people to shed their doubts and follow his lead, an ability to connect with people and shape the way they look at the world" (Lacayo, 1996).

Leadership is the process of persuasion and example by which an individual attempts to influence a group to take action that is in accord with the leader's purpose or the shared purpose of all (Dufour, 1991). Dufour advised that the first thing a leader must do in an effort to influence others is to clarify his or her own goals. Bennis and Nanus (1985) described this purposefulness and clarity of goals as "vision-a realistic, credible, attractive future for the organization, a condition that is better in some important ways than what now exists" (p. 89). The importance of vision has been cited so often in research on leadership and organizations that it must be considered an essential prerequisite of the leader's ability to influence followers. The leader needs to have a clear sense of where the organization is going and how it is going to get there.

"We are finally learning that leadership is all about getting people engaged, involved, committed and excited about a useful vision that is about quality and innovation" (Peters, 1989, p. 39).

Sources of Leadership Power

As noted, a leader's attempts must be accepted--that is, granted--by those being led. In organizations, various bases exist to enable some people to lead. Five distinct sources of leadership power have been identified: legitimate power, reward power, coercive power, expert power, and referent power (French, 1993). The first three are largely exercised based on the position which the individual occupies. The last two are exercised on the basis of the individual's ability, knowledge, and strength of personality.

Position power comes from the position or office held and is granted by others, usually by some formal decision. By being elected or appointed, the leader receives designated power from the job itself. However, this power is transferred to the individual who is elected next (Cress, 1995). This legitimate power is based on the perception that the leader has the authority to influence a subordinate (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996). The leader's authority (position power) allows him/her to command the holding environment; command and direct attention; gain access to and control over the flow of information; frame issues; orchestrate conflict and contain disorder; grant or withhold rewards; and choose the decision-making process (Heifetz, 1994). These

powers are considered to be inherent in the leadership position regardless of who the leader is at any particular time.

The second source of leadership power has to do with the power derived from the confidence which others place in a leader's moral integrity, skills, reputation, or past accomplishments. Unlike position power, it does not evaporate with a change in status or circumstances; instead "such changes usually enhance personal power as the individual responds creatively and appropriately to the new situation" (Cress, 1995, p. 26). The leader is seen as possessing the capability to analyze, implement, and control organizational tasks because he/she has the education, training, and experience as well as the charisma that inspires respect and attracts others to him/her (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996; Wilfred, 1989).

Leaders who occupy formal office cannot deny that the office itself represents power. Adams and Baily (1989) asserted that a leader who ignores status and authority or prestige and influence is only half powerful. A true leader is able to influence others and modify their behavior, engaging both positional and personal powers (Lunenburg, 1996). The relationship between leadership and power must therefore be conceived from the framework of leadership as an influence process; it is a function of the leader's sources of power and his/her identification with the interest and needs of the subordinates. While the leader's authority should not be ignored, he/she should seek to establish a more lasting base of power through genuine relationships with followers on the basis of their trustworthiness.

Power and Organizations

Individuals frequently find themselves in situations where they are either controlling some people or being controlled by them. One does not choose whether power will be used in internal organizational relationships because it is a major organizational issue affecting people's work motivation (Kanter, 1981). It is an essential element of resource allocation, conflict, competition, decision making, planning, staff selection, and the entire range of management, supervisory, and leadership tasks (Fairholm, 1993). Leaders in organizations use power in a variety of ways to conduct organizational business. In fact, as Fairholm states, "power in use is merely organizational dynamics--the action of people in relationships" (p. 45). What is of interest in this section is the structure and flow of power in organizations, who the players or influencers are, the means used to gain power, and the political strategies and tactics employed in its use.

The Structure and Flow of Power in Organizations

Etzioni (1961) classified organizations into three groups based on the internal characteristic of control. These are (1) coercive organizations in which the means of control is coercive (for example, prisons and mental hospitals); (2) utilitarian organizations in which the means of control is remunerative (for example, factories and government agencies); and (3) normative organizations in which the means of control is normative and the employee involvement is "normal" (for example, church, universities, and voluntary organizations). Organizations emerge when an initial group of players or influencers joins together to pursue a common mission. Others are later attracted to the

organization which becomes a vehicle for satisfying some of their needs. Because the needs of these participants vary, each tries to use his/her own levers of power--means or systems of influence--to control decisions or actions. The extent to which they succeed determines what configuration of organizational power emerges (Mintzberg, 1983).

Achieving organizational results is dependent on one's capacity to influence others to his/her point of view. This is often done by offering desired rewards to followers as inducements to desired behavior. Power becomes a kind of political exchange transaction instrumental to task accomplishment (Fairholm, 1993). The organization, as a social structure of human interrelationships (Gouldner, 1960), also controls the actions of individuals, and control over others is power. Delegation is a power relationship. Negotiation is an exercise in power. Leadership is power in action (Zaleznik, 1963). Power in an organization is essential to make something happen. Whenever an outcome is being affected, power is flowing in the organization.

The Power Players/Influencers

Pfeffer (1981) observed that the power of organizational actors is fundamentally determined by two things: the importance of what they do in the organization and their skill in doing it. Mintzberg (1983) identified these players as influencers and further classified them as external and internal influencers.

> The internal influencers are the full-time employees who use voice, those people charged with making the decision and taking the actions on a permanent, regular basis; it is they who determine the outcomes, which express the goals pursued by the organization. The external influencers are non-employees who use their bases of influence to try to affect the behavior of employees. (p. 26)

Mintzberg also identified the owners and the organization's public, among

others, as two groups of external power players. The owners hold legal title to the organization and were perhaps instrumental in founding the organization and bringing the initial influencers together. They hired the top management, set up the structure, and provided the initial resources to get started. Included in the structure is the board, which is the one body on which external influencers of the organization meet regularly on a face-to-face basis with the leaders of the organization to discuss and ostensibly control the decisions and actions of the organization. Another category of external influencers, the organization's public, includes such general groups as families, opinion leaders, interest groups, and government in all its forms, including regulatory agencies. They neither own nor work for the organization, but feel sufficiently affected by its actions to try to influence it.

The internal influencers, the full-time employees, are stratified in two groups, which Mintzberg (1983) referred to as the chief executive officer and the operators. The power of the external actors is represented by the board, which is supposed to control the behavior of the organization. The board, however, does not manage the organization directly; it does so through its chief executive officer who takes formal charge for the running of the organization. The result is that formal power over organizational decision making passes almost completely from the board to the CEO. "Formal power passes from one to another as sand passes through the neck of an hourglass" (p. 112).

The CEO is the single most powerful individual in the system of power in the organization because he or she controls the legal prerogatives and has the best access to the external influencers, primarily the board (Zald, 1969). As the board's appointee, he or she is granted formal power to hire and fire, impose decisions on insiders, and veto

whatever they propose. This formal power extends to the mediation of rewards and may even be coercive. When the leader speaks, others in the organization have every incentive to listen.

The operators are those people who do the basic work of the organization-the inputting, processing, and outputting functions and rendering the services offered by the organizations. Their job is to execute the final decision of the organization. They perform the action--teach the classes, transplant the heart, preach the sermons. The weight of the administrative structure rests on them (Mintzberg, 1983). Among these operators are the unskilled support staff and the professional operators who possess the critical knowledge and skills. Their expertise becomes their prime means of influencing, sometimes powerfully, the organization (Mintzberg, 1983).

The players in this organizational power scheme function in a complex and curious mixture of the system of influence. Each impacts the other, but the successful running of the organization depends on the amount of power the leader amasses and how he or she is able to influence and motivate the insiders to use their power to effect organizational outcomes.

Means Used to Gain Power

Three systems of control in organizations are suggested here, while the fourth is dealt with under the subsequent heading of the system of authority, ideology, and expertise. Power is derived through legitimate means, through a coordinated belief system, and personal skills, among other sources.

Authority is power vested in an office or position. It is also referred to as

formal power or legitimate power. Mintzberg (1983) observed that authority originates with the external influencers, primarily the owners, and is delegated to the appointed leader of the organization through the board. The leader in turn creates a chain of authority by which he delegates some of his formal powers to execute actions and make decisions. Operating on the authority awarded to them, leaders make decisions and issue orders to be carried out by subordinates. Mintzberg suggested four means by which organizational leaders control behaviors and legitimize their authority: (1) through the giving of direct orders, they make the decisions and subordinates execute the action; (2) the setting of decision premises--establishing guidelines within which subordinates must make decisions; (3) the reviewing of decisions--leaders exercise the right of review before a decision is turned into action; and (4) the allocation of resources--this is powerful because it determines the latitude the subordinate has to make decisions. The leader needs a means of influence to back up his delegation and ensure that those within the organization work cooperatively on behalf of the interests of the organization. He uses his authority as a means of achieving this.

Another means for control and coordination is the system of ideology. The key feature of an organization is ideology as its unifying power. It ties the individual to the organization and generates a sense of mission. According to Hirschman (1970), it discourages, exits, and quells voice instead of encouraging loyalty. Mintzberg (1983) suggested that an organization is founded when a prime mover identifies a mission-service to be rendered in a special way and collects a group around him to accomplish it. As the organization establishes itself, decisions and actions become infused with value, and ideology begins to emerge. These beliefs, habits, and history are shared by members

of the organization and over time they influence behaviors which in turn reinforce tradition (Perrow, 1972; Selznick, 1957). Believers give loyalty to the organization and take pride and identity from it. The retelling and rewriting of its accomplishments and history turn a "formal place into a beloved institution, to which participants may be passionately devoted" (Clark, 1972, p. 178). A strong ideology does impact the power distribution in an organization. Mintzberg (1983) advanced the idea that it encourages members to identify naturally with the organization and the goals it pursues, and in the process their private interests are subjugated to those of the organization. Other means of controlling behavior may not even be necessary, since everyone shares the same set of beliefs and the trust level in making favorable decisions is high.

A third way of coordinating and controlling work in organizations is through a system of expertise. Because of the complex nature of organizational work, highly trained experts or professionals are needed to carry out such tasks. These experts occupy privileged positions and draw significant power to themselves because: (1) their specific activities are not dictated by the regular rules, but by procedures and knowledge learned prior to obtaining the job; (2) the organization had no control over the training of these individuals and ultimately no power to program their work; and (3) because of the complex nature of their work they must be allowed considerable discretion in performing it, for their work comes under the control only of those with similar knowledge and skills (Mintzberg, 1983). Experts and professionals working together usually in small groups affect the structure of the organization, making it looser, less organic, and less bureaucratic (Pfeffer, 1981).

Because an organization has to grant considerable discretion to its experts,

Mintzberg (1983) argued that two other power bases are affected. First, the system of authority is significantly weakened because it surrenders the power over selection and training to professional institutions; thus the formal system of administrators has less power. Second, the system of ideology is also weakened because power is now in the hands of individuals as distinct from power resident in some characteristics of the organization at large. Ideology ensures that power is constant throughout the organization, but the system of expertise allows for the distribution of power according to specialized capability.

Pfeffer (1981) also noted other means by which power is achieved in organizations. The individual, he claimed, who has political skills is able to achieve consensus among colleagues by controlling information, providing resources, dealing with uncertainties, and affecting the decision-making process. By making himself irreplaceable, he is guaranteed power. If the resources provided are scarce or the skills possessed are critical to the successful operation of the organization, such a leader becomes even more powerful.

Politics in Organization

Politics is considered as one of the means through which power is achieved in organizations (Fairholm, 1993; Knoop, 1993; McCall, 1978; Mintzberg, 1983; Pfeffer, 1981). It is defined as a crafty and unprincipled method or tactic used to achieve power and status within a group. Mintzberg (1983) stated that politics in organizations arise primarily from the fact that insiders seek to be influencers, with their own needs to fulfill. These insiders have delegated power to make decisions and take action which will create

outcomes. Those in leadership positions also have delegated power to make decisions. With delegation comes discretion, which opens the way to political power.

Many definitions place organizational politics in a kind of control-over-others light (Frost & Hayes, 1979; Gandz & Murray, 1980; Martin & Sims, 1974; Plott & Levine, 1978). Operationally, organizational politics is an important social-influence process with positive and negative effects. Madison and others (1980) showed that organizational politics can be useful in helping the organization reach its goal, survival, coordinating staff and units, developing esprit de corps, and decision making. It can also result in inappropriate use of scarce resources, can cause divisiveness, create tension, allow less qualified people to advance, and reduce communication flow.

Political actions in organizations take place in situations of uncertainty, importance, and salience to individuals or the group as a whole (Madison, 1980). People in groups have tended to exhibit this behavior pattern. Frost, Mitchell, and Nord (1982) agreed that in groups people interact in a power struggle to limit the exercise of power in others. These political activities, however beneficial they may be to the organization, are still viewed as illegitimate, since they are usually outside the legitimate system of influence and designed to benefit the individual or group at the expense of the organization at large (Mintzberg, 1983). Individuals who are successful in such activities in organizations are usually skilled with abilities to exploit the bases of power effectively and have what Kipnis (1974) called "personal resources" (p. 88) and leadership characteristics, including but not restricted to charm, physical strength, and attractiveness.

All members in an organization participate in power use. Madison's (1980)

work showed that politics is more in the superior's mind and actions than in that of lower-level employees. This, however, does not lessen the fact that all employees have some power. No one is powerless, even if he or she only withholds talent or energy. Employees use power to secure their desired result in the same ways that higher-level participants use their capacities (Fairholm, 1993).

Summary

Power is present in all types of organizations, whether they are coercive, utilitarian, or normative. The ability to influence others is central to the successful use of power in achieving organizational goals. The external influencers (non-employees) seek to exert their influence through the board. The internal influencers, on the other hand, use their expertise. At the center of all this "influence peddling" process is the CEO who must marshal adequate support from both groups, use resources optimally, and employ his/her technical skills to their fullest in exercising formal power. The organization has built-in legitimate systems that may be used to gain power: authority, ideology, and expertise. The system of politics is also used to achieve power, but is usually by default or weakness in the other three, or by design to resist them.

Power in Religious Organizations

Power in religious organizations is the central focus of this study. So far the phenomenon has been reviewed on a general basis along with the elements common to its use in varying situations. The emphasis is now specific to what transpires or ought to transpire in these organizations. It should be mentioned at this point that the literature identified in this section is for the most part homilies which suggest the "oughtness" of

the use of power. Few authors devote extensive coverage to the topic, albeit numerous articles dealing with specific aspects of the issue appear in religious journals and magazines. The concept of power is largely influenced by the notion people have of the society in which they live. The church functions within the society and is not immune to its influences and practices, some of which find their way into that body. For this reason, Habeker (1990) felt there is uncertainty within the Christian community about the use of power. Too many of the secular practices are evident there.

The leadership position is most frequently the direction from which power flows, and research has shown that it is not usually in the best interest of individuals within the organization to attempt to investigate such areas; outsiders who attempt to do so are often treated with superficial responses (Kipnis, 1976). The concept of power is not viewed favorably in religious settings except when it is attributed to divinity. Authority, which is power granted, is much preferred as the acceptable form of power (Campolo, 1988; Forbes, 1983; Habeker, 1990; Prior, 1987).

All organizations require some type of authority system through which the activities of separate individuals are coordinated for the advancement of organizational goals. Within organized religion this need is to institutionalize patterns of belief, worship, and organization which inevitably leads to the development of an administrative hierarchy and power structure (Szafran, 1976). Etzioni (1961) cited religious organizations as prime examples of normative organizations in which social control is achieved primarily through the manipulation of symbolic and moral power. The focus of this section is to review power in the context of Christian organizations and to identify ways in which it is handled by Christian leaders.

Christian Power Derived From a New Testament Model

Siebel (1988) observed that in the church, as in all social systems, power finds its legitimation on three different levels: (1) the office; (2) the person; and (3) the acts of rule that are carried out. He asserted that the offices and ministries of the church received their legitimation through the divine institution of the church. All power and authority in the church is fundamentally the power and authority of Jesus and should be understood from this christological principle, "All power in heaven and earth has been given to me" (Matt 28:18-20).

Jesus is presented as the model for the use of power and authority in the church. The synoptic gospels speak of Jesus' authority in the context of His ability to act. He had the potential, power, and might to do so, and He demonstrated this in situations of teaching, healing, and empowering (Blank, 1988; Forbes, 1983; Jacobsen, 1992). Jesus shattered the notion that He would overthrow the Romans with His power, and demonstrated His authority in two ways: the truth of His words, and a life that showed their reality (Jacobsen, 1992). Jesus expressed His power in His conduct and His work in such a way that men could experience the affirming, empowering effect (Matt 11:2-6; Luke 7:18-23).

Jesus' authority, however, did not go unchallenged (Luke 20:2; Matt 21:23). It seemed as if His enemies were constantly searching for ways to hand Him over to the power and authority of the governor (Luke 20:20). His accusers wanted to know the source of His power, at one time even suggesting that He was empowered by Satan (Matt 12). But in the "great commission" Jesus reminded the disciples that "all authority

in heaven and earth has been given to me" (Matt 28:18).

Jesus demonstrated a form of personal power which lies in the individual's ability and character. French and Raven (1959) referred to these as expert and referent power. When Jesus taught people He left them "amazed at his teaching, because he taught them as one who had authority, and not as their teachers of the law" (Matt 7:28-29). Newman (1985) quipped that it was the obvious goodness of His life, His purity, and trustworthiness which attracted people to Him, and made Him accomplish His mission as an outstanding and powerful leader.

Forbes (1983) urged that contrary to the advice of those who know how to acquire and use power, Christians should undergo a paradigm shift to the "unself-serving" behavior Jesus spoke of in both Matthew and Mark. "You know that the rulers of the heathen have power over them, and their leaders have complete authority. This is, however, not the way it should be among you. If one of you wants to be great, he must be the servant of the rest" (Matt 20:25-27; Mark 10:43-44). Luke has Jesus saying, "The leader must be like the servant. I am among you as one who serves" (Luke 22:26-27). John also powerfully carried this theme of servant leadership in the story of Jesus' washing the disciples' feet at the last supper and suggesting that each member of the Christian community should do as He did (John 13:1-17). It was at this supper when the disciples argued which one of them would be the greatest or most powerful, that Jesus smashed their model by explaining that such thinking was unworthy of them. Instead, the greatest should be the servant, the one who rules should serve (Luke 22). Forbes (1983) commented that followers of Christ should not think about status, position, or place. Service is the mark of a Christian leader. According to Prior (1987), Jesus warned

against competitive, dominating, and aggressive leadership which should not be tolerated in the Christian community. The world uses power to manipulate, impose, and force in sinful ways, but the Bible almost always uses its concept of power in loving, caring, enhancing ways. God's use of power is the model for leaders in all ages (Forbes, 1983).

Paul also frequently discussed the matter of power, acknowledging its reality in the kingdom community (1 Cor 4:20) and anticipating a time when all "dominion, authority, and power" will be destroyed (1 Cor 15:24). In describing the supremacy of Christ to the Ephesians, he noted that Christ is seated "far above all rule and authority, power and dominion" (Eph 1:21). Christ is "head over every power and authority" and through him, his servants can encourage and rebuke with all authority" (Titus 2:15).

There seems to be no release from sovereignty and authority within the church (Blank, 1988), but that authority should be exercised under the lordship of Jesus (Prior, 1987) who has demonstrated a model based on transformation and redemption.

The Concept of Authority in Religious Organizations

Authority is not an easy term to define, and its meaning is not bounded by specific parameters. There are, however, components of the concept which have remained constant, including the conviction among Christians that "God is the source and ground of authority for the Christian Church" (Dederen, 1995, p. 2). Jesus intended His visible church to proclaim and share the gospel, so it can hardly be denied the right to exercise a measure of administrative authority (Blank, 1988; Dederen, 1995; Siebel, 1988). But all the power and authority which the church exercises is fundamentally the power and authority of Christ (Blank, 1988). Whenever the church legislates, expands its

ministries, or rules, it applies to the divine commission as the foundation of its authority to act accordingly. The church also justifies its exercise of power through two substantial principles: (1) the conservation and dissemination of the faith entrusted to it, and (2) the duty to preserve unity (Blank, 1988).

Another source of authority in the Christian community is the Holy Spirit who bestows gifts to its members (Rom 12:6-8; 1 Cor 12-8:10, 28-30; Eph 4:11) in general, including office holders. Dederen (1995), exegeting Eph 4:12, 13, stated that the Holy Spirit gives gifts of grace for the work of service to the building up of the body of Christ and thus for the exercise of authority. The power of leadership, which is bestowed by the Spirit on certain believers and recognized as legitimate authority by the Christian community, should not dominate other forms of power , because this authority, as in every other case, Wilfred (1989) claimed, even though it is granted by the Spirit, has to be validated by its acceptance in the community.

Christians, therefore, recognize the source of their authority to accomplish their organizational goals and mission as grounded in the commission of Jesus Christ (Matt 28:18) and validated by the Holy Spirit through the expertise given them to carry out that commission. Powers (1979) advanced the idea that such authority is primarily to fulfill commitments to ministry, mission, and relationship. Additionally, those called to be ministers and servants must also submit to appropriate leadership. Such leadership should be authoritative, but not authoritarian. Whatever may be the method of controlling power, those who exercise it are themselves subject to the processes of control which have to take their bearings from legitimating norms (Siebel, 1988).

Authority is legitimized power, the official or traditional sanction to perform

certain directive acts (Gardener, 1986). Both traditional and official-legal authority are evident in religious organizations. The former has its basis in established beliefs, customs, and religious convictions, while the latter is based on rules and laws which legitimize rulers who claim that authority (Coll, 1986). Authority assumes that one has not only the might to effect the organization's purposes, but also the right. It springs from a moral foundation (Habeker, 1990).

Legitimacy is a key element for religious leaders, especially if they adopt the servant model, because legitimacy is granted or bestowed power. "Servants have no inherent power; they function only with the power which the master grants. But for the power to be social rather than merely individual, it must be discerned and endorsed by the people" (Reimer, 1987, p. 22). Discernment requires the ability to read signs of God's calling and signs of giftedness as demonstrated in the actual use of expert and referent powers. Endorsement should not be granted or withheld out of collective preferences, but out of evidences of God's calling and giftedness. Discernment and endorsement are the keys to the exercise of legitimate power-authority in religious organizations (Reimer, 1987). The organization has the authority to circumscribe the power which the pastor or teacher holds. They hold positions of "institutionalized power" and therefore a position of authority.

The function of such authority is of unquestionable importance to the organization. Even as one is legitimized to act with power, such a leader should see his role not as tied to titles but to helping others (Powers, 1979). The helping or servant role will not render a leader lame or lukewarm. The whole intent of authority in religious organization is to aid leaders "to fulfill commitments to ministry, mission and

relationship" (Powers, 1979, p. 24). The approach they adopt may be authoritative, but should not be authoritarian because their commitment should be to serving God and the resulting convictions concerning ministry, mission, and relationship-serving people.

Christian Leadership Powers

The idea of power remains the same whether it is used in Christian or non-Christian organizations. Its ultimate purpose is to affect organizational outcomes. The distinction lies in the practice, principle, and motives of power. The issue for the Christian leader is not power for his own sake, but how that "God-given" power is exercised to help the organization and its people achieve their purposes and goals. How the power is used is just as important as the ends sought. Stott (1985) observed that authority attaches to all leaders and that leadership would be impossible without it. Leaders have power, but it is only safe in the hands of those who humble themselves to serve.

Forbes (1983) noted that most Christian leaders' use of power is presumably to do God's will or discharge a God-given task. Some make the mistake of thinking that they need power to promote and protect the faith, influence government and political leaders, create organizations to benefit humanity and glorify God, not recognizing that in such cases they often become the instruments of power rather than using it redemptively. She suggested that power operates identically whether it is used by Christian or non-Christian leaders. The difference is seen in the respect which followers demonstrate for their leaders. Followers respect a leader for his character, not his political skills. Jacobsen (1992) pointed out that Jesus exercised His leadership and authority not by

holding an office or making threats, but through the sincerity of His works and His character. Similarly, Christian leaders should exercise 'spiritual authority' which flows not from titles or positions but from a consistently genuine character visible to their followers. This is referent power which exists where the relationship is attractive. Modeling, identification, and love are the primary activators of this power (Reimer, 1987).

There are some areas of concern for Christian leaders as they seek to use power: accountability (Fee, 1989; Habeker, 1990), followership (Habeker, 1990; Miller, 1987; Nouwen, 1989), servanthood (Greenleaf, 1982; Nouwen, 1989), and empowerment (Roberts, 1987). The identifying norm and model of these characteristics is Jesus who is generally considered the model for Christian leaders.

According to Habeker (1990), one of the major areas for continued reflection and possible reform in Christian leadership is the area of accountability in leadership. He observed that in Christian organizations a kind of spiritualized leadership cult unwittingly develops, by which leaders are considered special, above the people they lead; therefore, their actions should not be subject to the scrutiny of the people. The organization ultimately becomes "my organization," the people are "my people," and the resources are used as the leader sees fit. Colson (1990) called this behavior "pedestal complex" and noted that such leaders are not eager for outside accountability. Foster (1985) warned, however, that leaders who are accountable to no one are especially susceptible to the corrupting influence of power. This kind of leadership can hardly be considered a Christian model.

The New Testament model, from which Christian leaders presumably derive

their practice, is never outside of or above the people, but simply a part of the whole, essential to its well-being, and governed by the same set of rules (Fee, 1989). "Leaders are always seen as part of the whole people of God, never as a group unto themselves" (p. 7). The New Testament pictures leaders working in the midst of their milieu. "They labor among" to prepare the people of God for service so the body of Christ may be built up (Eph 4:11-16). The leaders function in service for the rest, unlike the Gentiles who exercised authority over their people. As the leader, one becomes the servant or slave of all (Mark 10:42-44). Fee (1989) urged that leaders should see themselves as "servants of the farm" (1 Cor 3:5-9) or household (1 Cor 4:1-3).

According to Nouwen (1989), real leadership is not exercising authority but being led. Miller (1987) agreed that every Christian who desires to become a leader must first know how to follow. McKenna (1989) also concurred that "every Christian is called to be a follower of Christ and a leader of others" (p. 25). Habeker (1990) added to the leader-power-follower motif that a leader should first see him/herself as a follower of Christ, and second as a facilitator of the people being led. In this context the needs of the people and empowering the organization are given high priority. The leader uses his power to remove obstacles which prevent individuals from doing their job, thus enabling them to realize their full potential. In this way the leader becomes a servant of the followers and is able to maintain the authority which is conferred by his/her followers through their acceptance of that authority. Followership also allows leaders who are sensitive to the leading of God's Spirit to follow spirit-led people within the organization. The leader accepting counsel is still committed to helping the organization and its people move in a given direction. The leader-follower relationship is at best mutually nourishing

and strengthening. One person may be recognized as the leader in a particular situation, but, in reality, various members of the community contribute to the process of moving the organization forward. Leadership is shared between leaders and followers; thus leaders and followers become interchangeable (Foster, 1989).

Nouwen (1989) noted that a Christian leader is not in a position of power and control, but one of powerlessness and humility reflecting the "suffering servant of God" (p. 63). This is not weak leadership manipulated by the environment, but power relinquished in favor of love, following the pattern of Jesus who had no motive for riches, self-importance, or aggrandizement. This is the distinctive difference between the Christian and the secular motive for power.

Throughout his writing, Greenleaf (1982) demonstrated the superiority of servanthood over more self-serving forms of leadership. He identified the servant leader as one who gives highest priority to meeting the needs of other people so that they become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, and more likely to become leaders themselves. This type of leadership does not follow the hierarchical principle which places a single individual at the top of the pyramid. There is a danger in hierarchical leadership being exalted too far above the people and reaching for more and more power. Greenleaf suggested the model for servant leaders which makes them first among equals, eliminating the subordinate/superordinate model, and keeping them close to the ground. The power such leaders exercise is by persuasion and example.

This servant power is used to create opportunity and alternatives so that individuals may choose and build autonomy. Greenleaf said that servant leaders are dependable and trusted by their followers. While they have the power to hurt, they

choose not to do so. They use the power of love to persuade, to impart new values, and to effect organic changes rather than to coerce and manipulate people. This is the model that was demonstrated by Jesus (Matt 20:25-29) and which Christian leadership should follow (Musvosvi, 1991). The goal of servant leaders is to use their position and power to recover alienated people and build institutions that serve. When those in charge of Christian organizations follow models other than servant leadership, it may demonstrate their grasp for power or greed for some material possession (Newman, 1991). Greenleaf's (1977) conclusion is aptly stated, that servant leaders "must constantly examine and reexamine the assumption by which they live and allow their leadership by example to sustain trust" (p. 330).

Roberts (1987) identified three necessary skills directly related to power and servanthood which Christian leaders should have:

1. They need to understand how all parts of an organization relate to each other and to the broader environment.

2. They should help to create the vision that empowers the mission and purpose of the organization. This vision, according to Burt and Nanus (1985), does not always originate with the leader, but he identifies and names it.

3. They should be empowering others to participate fully in the mission of the organization. In this way, power is not limited to the leadership position, but it is multiplied through sharing it. By so doing leaders create an environment which helps people to discover their skills and talent (Pejza, 1994).

To become an effective Christian leader one must be willing to abandon some of the traditional beliefs about power and leadership and take a 'leap of faith' toward a

model which advocates an understanding of pain, loss, love of others, and the larger purpose of the organization over selfish interests. "True leadership begins with the willingness to be someone other than who the world wants you to be" (Hagberg, 1984, p. 174). Leaders in religious organizations can still be influential with a new model by embodying the beliefs and values of the group (Becker, 1965). In Christian organizations, character power, by which the leader lives the ideals which the group seeks for itself, is recognized and respected. Beitz (1981) identified character power as Christian power which manifests itself in servanthood. "Service is the expression of one who is free from self and who does not need to struggle in competition with others for an ever-dwindling supply of power and influence" (p. 2).

Abuse of Power

The temptation of Jesus in the wilderness is cited as a classic example of the abuse of power. Satan usurped dominion over this world, then attempted to use that power to manipulate the Creator of the world. This outrageous abuse of power has contaminated everyone who tries to control others (Prior, 1987). Christian leaders must constantly reexamine their actions to ensure that the power vested in them and in their position is exercised in a way that reflects the humble servant character of Christ. It is all too easy to seek personal fulfillment, ambition, reputation, and comfort at the expense of others, thus abusing the power entrusted to one.

The greatest irony of Christianity, according to Nouwen (1989) in his homily, is that Christian leaders succumb to the temptation of power while claiming authority to speak in the name of Jesus who did not cling to power. Nouwen contended that such

leaders think power is good if used for the betterment of humanity and the service of God, but this is a deceptive presupposition. History has shown that such rationalization led to crusades, inquisitions, enslavement, and the building of episcopal palaces, cathedrals, and seminaries. Even the major crises in church history such as the 11th-century secularization were primarily the result of the abuse of power by "those claiming to be followers of the meek and lowly Jesus" (p. 59).

Cress (1995) observed that the misuse of power in religious organizations comes not from a malevolent motive, but from insufficient knowledge of the sources of power and responsible ways to use it. The temptation to accumulate power is very subtle and the ignorant can become easy prey. Forbes (1983) suggested that power is a type of religion with beliefs, rules, benefits, and implied threats. The individual who unwittingly buys into these symbols enters the "sanctuary of power," begins "walking down its aisle," and however imperceptibly, gradually becomes ensnared. Forbes claimed that power has a dress code, language code, and behavior code which are often manifested in the size and location of one's office, the arrangement of furniture (to maximize one's authority or intimidate followers), one's titles and privileges, and in determining who is invited to meetings, who gets inside information, and who is a confidant (p. 19). These power plays are not confined to religious organizations, but apply to secular organizations as well. The temptations inherent in Christian organi-zations are to use piety for power with religious language peculiar to the spiritual life to manipulate others (Forbes, 1983; Van Vonderen & Johnson, 1991). Prior (1987) identified the exercise of authority, the need to impress, the ability to influence, trivial pursuits, and covering up inner corruption as

areas of concern which pose inherent dangers for leaders holding religious power. These are prime areas for abuse.

Authority in itself is positive and should be seen as a conferred right to exercise power in strictly controlled bounds, but too often leaders hide behind authority to gain more power. Authority should have nothing to do with coercion, violence, or manipulation, but frequently power is used to force people to recognize the leader's authority (Forbes, 1983). Such leaders, Forbes contended, abuse their authority by committing violence against the intellect, by talking only to display their intellectual acumen. For most Christians a relationship with God is very important, so when leaders speak of their devotional life and the hours spent in prayer and Bible study as a means of convincing people of their spirituality, they have accessed effective power tools which are some people's "spiritual benchmarks" (p. 89). Leaders also sometimes usurp authority by skillfully dropping the names of spiritual people they know and associate with and mentioning the frequency with which they tithe and attend meetings. They speak with authority as if their "opinions arrive fresh from heaven each day" (p. 89) and quote Bible verses to people about authority, submission, judgment, and prosperity (Johnson & VanVonderen, 1991).

These behaviors become abusive not because they are inherently evil, but because these leaders use their authority to convey the impression that they are more spiritual than others and deserve obedience. When religious leaders follow such trends they invariably end by imposing heavy burdens on their followers, forcing them to observe traditions and accretions which make their lives miserable. Unfortunately, these man-made religious regulations are usually rigid (Prior, 1987). Leaders who abuse

power claim, like the Pharisees, that they occupy the chair of Moses (Matt 23:1), but Moses' position was given by God whereas these leaders take authority to themselves because of their position, not because they are wise, discerning, and true. Abusive religious authority controls by exhibiting outward holiness to hide an empty heart, and substituting rote religious performance for expertise (Johnson & VanVonderen, 1991).

Another means by which power is abused is through visibility, which ensures that leaders are well known and important. They manifest a need to impress others. Prior (1987), in quoting Jesus, pointed out that such leaders do their deeds to be seen of men (Matt 23:5). There is an insatiable need to be seen, which permeates every aspect of their life: they must always be leading out in activities, sitting in the most conspicuous places, and receiving greetings and recognition for their qualifications, prestige, and power status. Forbes (1983) added that an astute observer recognizes that such leaders wield power, not only because they are always seen, but also because they are seen doing the right things. They dress ostentatiously but in acceptable religious attire; they are quick to pray in public, they appear visibly pious and moral. In this way they easily sway and intimidate people who do not think critically. This type of behavior is in striking contrast to that modeled by Jesus. He offered a model of powerlessness, humility, privacy, and anonymity (Matt 23:8-12). Forbes (1983) observed that unfortunately the persons who usually obtain power in religious organizations are those who look, sound, and act spiritual; these are also the ones most likely to misuse it.

In religious organizations, Prior (1987) argued, there is a tendency toward "the exclusive mentality" in which leaders exalt themselves as experts on virtually everything to do with the organization, then use their position to influence individuals.

Such leaders behave as if they had a monopoly on knowledge. Undoubtedly they have access to information, which they use to gain supporters and heighten their control on the organization. Often the concerns of these leaders are pharisaical; they emphasize minor acts at the expense of the broader picture, and followers are invariably influenced in developing a misplaced sense of loyalty to the organization and leader rather than to God (Johnson & VanVondoren, 1991).

Abusive religious leaders are adept at manipulating their followers, while at the same time covering up ineptness and dishonesty. They appear outwardly righteous and sincere men and talk openly about the impact of God's power upon them. They make the right moves, develop networking skills, and have an array of scriptures at their disposal (Prior, 1987). By so doing, they intimidate others around them and obtain what they want. Leaders also use their authority to intercept uncomfortable questions by suggesting that the questioner is either immature, divisive, or seeking power. The process is complete when the leader suggests that such individuals should be prayed for. What is disconcerting to observant followers is that they (the followers) have very few resources at their disposal to counteract such suggestions. Whatever response they make will only make them look more defensive (Forbes, 1983).

In the days of Jesus those who wielded religious power were considered lovers of money, inveterate plotters, afraid of truth, who imposed heavy burdens on people, including requirements of ritual correctness. These activities left people feeling guilty, worthless, and hopeless. This situation continues when individuals are more concerned with ruling over rather than serving and liberating people (Campolo, 1988; Prior, 1987). Religious leaders sometimes shape people's perceptions, cognitions, and

preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, partly because they can see no alternative to it, they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value the situation as divinely ordained and beneficent. Lukes (1974) referred to this as the most insidious abuse of power because people are prevented from having grievances.

Forbes (1983) concluded that the use of power by religious leaders has become a form of religion with a set of beliefs, specified rules, promised benefits, and implied threats. The recognizable stages in this religion are the convert, novitiate, and the professional. Her metaphor for those who abuse power is that they enter the sanctuary and walk the aisle, showing their behavior patterns in where and how they sit in meetings, their time of arrival and departure, and the language used, which most times is so technical that it is hardly understood by listeners.

One of the most sacred aspects of worship is prayer. This is sometimes used by religious leaders as a tool to achieve their ends. People whose ideas are not congruent with the leader's are at times singled out as the subject for prayer. The nature of such prayers, according to some writers, is so sanctimonious and convincing that followers are forced to comply with their wishes in order to be accorded right standing in the group (Forbes, 1983; Johnson & VanVondoren, 1991). This is conceived as "spiritual harassment" which is especially painful to followers because they have no resources at their disposal to combat it (Forbes, 1983). Such behavior is the antithesis of Christianity, yet Christians participate in it with the false notion that in so doing they will protect the faith and create an organization which will ultimately benefit humanity and glorify God (Forbes, 1983).

Principles Guiding a Christian Organization's Use of Power

Dayton and Engstrom (1982) defined Christian organizations as those involved with specifically defined Christian tasks with their staff having a relationship to the lordship of Jesus Christ. Such organizations are held together by what is called normative power (Szafran, 1976) or principle-centered power (Covey, 1991). This means that the leader is trusted, respected, and honored, and followers do what the leader wants because they believe in him/her and the cause. Prior (1987) warned that leaders should be constantly aware that all earthly power and authority are contaminated by Satan and therefore subject to deceit and misunderstanding. The Christian community should be constantly alert to instances of abuse. Even among Christians there is a predominant view that leaders must be assertive and act with authority. This view is often supported by biblical and historical references (Powers, 1979). Some religious apologists urged that the exercise of power in Christian organizations must draw its operating norms from the model exemplified in the life and work of Jesus Christ (Abdullah, 1995; Forbes, 1983; Habeker, 1990; Powers, 1979; Reimer, 1987; Wilfred, 1989).

Religious organizations are not immune to power struggles since these are the consequences of the underlying conflicts between human interests. Given the hierarchical nature of religious systems, power is latent in their ideological structures, authority, and organization (Burbules, 1986). However, in each of these forms approaches may be adopted which are relatively free of power.

Belief and Authority

Burbules (1986) suggested some alternative approaches to power that rather

than allowing belief systems to become hegemonic, the structure should promote open communication in which the root assumptions for these beliefs are questioned. Beliefs may be traced to an earlier progressive phase before new categories and values are added to solidify them and make them more conservative. Authority should be consensual, serving human interests, and sharing information. It should only be maintained through the respect and trust of those who grant the authority. If authority is unquestioned it becomes authoritarianism. Organization must be realized through forms which emphasize participatory decision making rather than hierarchical decision making. Responsibility should be decentralized rather than focused in a single head and delegated arbitrarily or by fiat.

The resolution to the problems of power lies neither in simply exorcizing power nor in obtaining it, but in transforming the underlying conflicts of interest that give rise to it (Burbules, 1986). Covey (1991) suggested that this may be achieved under conditions in which leaders honor followers and followers choose to contribute because the leader is also honored. Some other transforming approaches to power may reside in love, empowerment, servanthood, truth, and persuasion.

Love

The noblest and most defining principle governing the use of power is love. Matthew recorded Jesus as saying that one's first responsibility is to love God supremely, and then to love one's neighbors as oneself (Matt 22:38, 39). All actions should be based on this principle. Abdullah (1995) commented that an authentic leader operates on the basis of love and compassion. Whatever actions such leaders implement, and however

they relate to people, they are correct, simply because they are motivated by love. On the other hand, if love is not the fundamental principle that motivates one, then whatever the leader does, no matter how logical, it will be incorrect and inappropriate.

> In order to fulfill our roles as spiritual leaders, we must operate from an inner well of love. We must love ourselves enough to take a good, long, realistic look at who and what we are, to operate from a basis of our strengths and to eliminate or transform our weaknesses. We must love others enough to see that, in the final analysis, there are no "others," just people who want the same things we want. (Abdullah, 1995, p. 43)

Campolo (1988) argued that most religious organizations are desperate for the support of their members and thus become easy prey for power-hungry people who manipulate the situation. They seize the opportunity by threatening to withhold financial support and pressure boards to comply with their wishes. He suggested that leaders in such situations should respond as Paul did. Paul could have appealed to status and achievement, but instead he based his authority on the evidence of how much he had suffered for Christ (Phil 3:4-7). In the church, people should be willing to suffer for others rather than rule over them. The only kind of power struggle that should be evident is "to out do each other in love" (p. 51). The role of the leader is not tied so much to traits or titles as to loving others (Powers, 1979). These individuals are suggesting that if leaders really love their followers, it would transform the relationship between them.

Empowerment

Tracey (1990) suggested the concept of empowerment in which the leader achieves ultimate power by giving it to the people who work with him. Tracey believed that power works under the same principle as love: The more you give to others the more you receive in return. Leaders can maximize their own power and their opportunity for

success by enabling the employees they supervise to achieve their own sense of power and success. Leaders should use their God-given power and authority in ways that will help the organization and let the people achieve its purposes and goals (Habeker, 1990). Good leaders will "abandon themselves to the strength of others" (Dupree, 1990, p. 19). The idea here is to build up individuals so that the energy of the organization is not in any one person at the top, but others are encouraged to develop themselves and participate fully in the mission of the organization.

Efforts toward empowerment will include redefining power to incorporate its "nutritive and integrative elements" (Coll, 1986). Hagberg (1984) devised a six-stage scheme which describes such redefinition. Beginning with powerlessness and passing through power by association and power by symbols, she ended with power by reflection. Stage four people are skilled at mentoring and working with others. Stage five includes people who consciously know that power, like love, grows as it is shared. At stage six people are comfortable with paradoxes who do not need the traditional trappings of the powerful. Their exercise of power in Rollo May's (1972) term is integrative or power with others. The leader exposes his/her own moral defenses and allows its effect to work on the consciences of people, helping them to face and overcome the incongruities in their lives.

Servanthood

Robert Greenleaf (1977), the primary proponent of servant leadership, observed that power is inherent in boards, administrators, staff, and constituencies, and is often reflected in such forms as position, knowledge, persuasion, and the ability to

compel others if authorized sanction is at their disposal by withholding efforts, support, or money. The power structure, he added, is a complex network of forces both seen and unseen, and the best approach toward power is one of humility. Christian leadership is not one of power and control, but rather one of powerlessness and humility, reflecting the "Suffering Servant of God" (Campolo, 1988; Nouwen, 1989). The idea here is not that leaders should be weak and easily manipulated, but that they should abandon power in favor of the approach which Jesus adopted, which Nouwen identified as the 'love approach.' In this way power is not used to gain riches, self-importance, or aggrandizement, but to nurture the individual and serve the organization.

Campolo and Nouwen committed themselves to a servant approach to power and stated that the hope of the church and all religious organizations is for leaders to approach power from a principled, non-manipulative stance, treating individuals as one wishes to be treated. Habeker (1990) extended this perception of servant power to portray the leader as a follower: (1) as a follower of Christ who seeks primarily to serve others, and (2) as a facilitator of the people being led. The leader, instead of engaging in manipulative tactics, "becomes a servant of his followers enabling them to realize their full potential" (Dupree, 1989, p. 19).

Thus servant power becomes evident when the leader uses his position to empower others (Coll, 1986), refusing to compete with them for a supposedly dwindling supply of power and influence (Beitz, 1981), not treating others as objects, but promoting them as subjects (Noddings, 1988). Greenleaf (1982) warned that manipulation and coercion have no place whatsoever in settings where servanthood is the preferred approach to power. In fact, the predominant modus operandi is persuasion.

This is a process which demands patience, because the one who is being persuaded should be allowed to arrive at a rightness about a belief or action on his/her own intuition. Persuasion does not entertain threat, sanction, penalty, exploitation, or pressure.

Persuasion, however, is not passive, but dynamic, sustained, and challenging, resulting in what Musvosvi (1991) referred to as organic change, when leaders have changed their people by introducing and instilling new values in them. In this way the result, though slow in coming, may outlive the leader who effected it (Musvosvi, 1991). Persuasion is an indispensable condition of trust by followers and colleagues (Greenleaf, 1982).

Love and caring are also features of servanthood which should not be overlooked. The former has already been suggested as a fundamental principle for the use of power. The leader must be willing to commit himself to treating others in the same way or better than he does himself. Caring is a difficult relationship which is also bound up in love. The caregiver must be strong and courageous so that he or she can use the good to control the 'not so good' (Noddings, 1988). Power in the caring relationship benefits both parties; it is used to confirm the other (Noblit, 1993). It is not about competition like Burbules's (1986) notion of the zero-sum game in power, in which the leader has power leaving the followers bereft of it, but about connection, construction, and cooperation.

Servant power is a mark of quality, distinction, and excellence in relationships. It is readily sustained because the values of the leader and followers overlap (Covey, 1991). Covey saw no difference between servant power and his idea of principle-

centered power because, in both cases, power is created, devoid of all control except self-control. Servant power may also be considered Christian power if used for service and cooperation with others (Beitz, 1981). Power in service also builds the character of the leader, moving him or her from domineering practices to caring approaches, and ultimately to sharing that power to transform followers into caring individuals. Servanthood promotes relations of greater mutuality, trust, and consent and emphasizes common interest (Burbules, 1986). In this respect the problems of power and domination are more likely to be avoided.

Truth

"It is absolutely necessary that the exercise of power in the church be enlightened by truth and follow its path" (Wilfred, 1989, p. 292). For the most part, Wilfred contended, power seeks the conformity of the subject's will to itself, its policies, decrees, and decisions, without considering the relationship of power to the facts. In many instances truth has turned out to be very uncomfortable and even dangerous to power because it is the guardian of freedom. When it is not in the hands of moral Christian leaders, power may even eliminate truth, in order to hijack the will and freedom in the direction it wants to. But truth guarantees freedom (John 17:17).

Wilfred proposed that power should be directed to finding the truth. The participation of the follower is indispensable in this process, so that whatever is discovered becomes beneficient to both the power holder and the subject. The important quality which the power holder in an organization needs is a love for wisdom and a commitment to truth. Not only is this commitment essential for the leader, but also for

the followers. Without this relationship to truth, authority and obedience will simply be domination and servility, which sometimes occurs in non-religious situations (Wilfred, 1989). Power must be rooted in truth.

Summary

The underlying conflicts between human interest result in power plays from which religious organizations are not immune. Authority, which is legitimized power, is a timeless feature of the power structure which is always challenged by followers. In religious organizations, acceptance is guaranteed when there is some awareness that authority is validated by the Holy Spirit. Leaders in such organizations who command much power are equally faced with the temptation of assuming a position which is not subject to the scrutiny of their subjects/followers. This "pedestal complex" invariably results in abuses of power which are sometimes displayed openly or subtly disguised in religious pronouncements.

Many religious writers believe that abusive religious leaders hide behind legitimate authority, since they understand and can manipulate the value system of the group; they appeal to Scripture and use prayer to silence opposition; and they appear to be pious to validate their behavior and obtain acceptance from their followers. There is also the awareness in Christian organizations that there are certain principles which are essential for any use of power. These include a genuine love for people, a desire to empower others, and the need to serve others. It is through these caring relationships that power is transformed into true service.

Summary of Chapter 2

This chapter has reviewed power from several important perspectives including its definition, bases, forms, and how it functions among individuals and in organizations. First, there is the potential for ambiguity if power is confined to a single definition, since the synonyms used to describe power often convey precise meanings within given contexts. It is therefore not unusual to encounter such terms as influence, authority, force, persuasion, and manipulation which are used to describe power. Certainly the spectrum of concepts that may be used to describe power is not exhausted, as whatever means a person uses to achieve an intended effect on another's behavior can be described as power.

Second, the expressions of power occur because there are situations within a relationship or in the work environment which give rise to power. Such situations become evident when there is an acknowledgment that individuals within the organization who possess the resources, expertise, reputation, and right to lead, articulate or embody the values of the group in a way which commands their respect. When these bases are tapped, it is seen that power flows to and from such individuals who possess the quality or knowledge to develop and acquire such resources.

Various typologies have been used to describe the ways in which power is displayed. Of these, three forms (authority, influence, and persuasion) appear to be acceptable ways of effecting outcomes (Fairholm, 1992; Knoop, 1992; Pfeffer, 1992). The other forms (force and manipulation) convey negative feelings and reactions (Mahler, 1975; Yukl, 1994). Force is an overt expression of power which is usually resisted; manipulation, on the other hand, is masked power which affects the follower unknown to

him. Force and manipulation are considered as evidence of the breakdown of power (Fairholm, 1992).

Power is a function of interactions that occur between individuals in some form of social exchange. It is the circumstances under which they come together which predispose them to either a leadership or followership position. In either case each needs to be validated and nurtured by the other. The leader occupies a position of power and needs power to be effective, but he or she is only effective to the extent that followers accept and empower him or her. Essential to this is the character which he or she possesses to win disciples and imitators and ultimately persuade individuals to pursue the goals of the organization (Freire, 1970).

Most organizations tend to be bureaucratic where power resides at the top of the hierarchical structure and actively flows down. The main influencers, according to Mintzberg (1983), are those individuals who occupy the top positions, as well as those with the expertise and skills which the organization needs. Bureaucratic organizations are thus fertile grounds for intrigues, power plays, and influence peddling to occur among workers. This politics of power is aimed at securing control over others, but, interestingly, it can also be useful in helping the organization to reach its goals and survive.

Power in religious organizations is fundamentally similar to what is practiced in other organizations, except that its acquisition and display is infused by references to the Scriptures for a model, as evidenced in the life and practice of Jesus (Prior, 1987). Leaders and followers share an identical belief system, and this makes it much easier for leaders to cement their hold on power, particularly if followers are convinced that the

leader's position is in some way a divine appointment. Unfortunately, in some instances leaders develop a "pedestal complex," believing their actions should not be questioned, and they rule by using the Scriptures, prayer, and the name of God as their source of authority. With such enhanced authority it becomes easy to abuse the power which these individuals possess. Religious organizations are aware that for power to be viewed with less suspicion it must be displayed in ways that nurture, empower, love, and serve individuals' needs, while exalting truth despite the consequences.

CHAPTER III

THE USE OF POWER IN SCHOOL X

General Introduction to the Case Studies

Chapter 2 established a theoretical basis of power and its function in organizations, including religious organizations with their authority structure derived from Scripture. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 report case studies describing what happens in the natural settings, where leaders actually use their authority to achieve the goals of the organizations. Each of the three chapters in this multiple case study represents a complete case, chosen to facilitate replication, with the intention of making the initial proposition more compelling.

These case study reports were written from the sources of data relevant to this study and collected by the researcher. These include the following: (1) taped interviews with the principals, who were asked to describe how they actually used their power to effect the outcomes they anticipated; (2) policy manuals; (3) teachers' and students' handbooks; and (4) journal notes taken by the researcher on activities, artifacts, and other observations. All of these data were collected on each of the sites.

In doing the case studies the researcher initially made appointments and visited with the principals to discuss and obtain approval to conduct this phase of the study in their schools. This initial visit and verbal approval was followed by a formal

letter requesting permission to do the study and an agreement establishing the parameters within which the study would be conducted. The researcher visited each of the schools a total of 10 times. During 6 of these visits formal interviews were conducted with the principals. These interviews lasted for a minimum of one hour, but frequently the conversations lasted for another half an hour depending on their schedules. Observations were done when the researcher attended the staff meetings, seminars, student worships, school concerts, and a consecration service for graduates, and during guided tours of the facilities by the principals. The documents that were scanned for purposes of triangulation and supplementary information, included school policy manuals, student and faculty handbooks, principal's reports, newsletters to churches, promotional brochures, and registration guides. In addition to these documents, approximately 300 typed pages of interviews and observation notes comprised the database from which the case studies were written.

Since a discussion of the problem which gave rise to this study was completed in chapter 1, chapters 3 through 5 provide a description of the contexts of the settings with which the inquiry is concerned, and a description of the transactions or processes observed in these contexts.

These case studies were conducted in three high schools in the state of Michigan. These schools are owned and operated by different denominations. The principals, who are the appointed heads of these institutions, are the informants in the study. The principals were observed, and interviewed over a period of 5 months to discover their views on their use of power, and the extent to which they use such power to run their institutions. Harrison (1959) argued that there is generally a close connection

between the doctrinal beliefs of a religion and the administrative structure of its church. While some authority structure appears inevitable, the extent and nature of this administrative coordination and direction can be problematic. Szafran (1976) agreed that all organizations, religious or otherwise, require some type of authority system through which the activities of separate individuals are coordinated for the achievement of organizational goals. The principals are the symbols of this authority in these religious institutions; they embody the beliefs of the denomination and are entrusted with the responsibility to transmit them to the next generation. They coordinate the activities of their staffs to this end, and relate to other external influencers in ways that they consider will foster positive reactions.

The principals deal with organizational features that require administration and management, such as resources, delegation of responsibility, and finances. The structure of hierarchy, specialization, and relegated responsibility are also part of the organizational structure evident in these institutions and are justified for efficiency and control. These institutions, however, impose additional features with the inclusion of religious elements which make them interesting arenas for the display of power.

These schools were selected because according to their philosophy and mission they fall within the parameters of the study as religious organizations. Such organizations are already defined as those which perform specifically defined Christian tasks, the primary qualification being the relationship of their staff to the lordship of Jesus Christ (Dayton & Engstrom, 1982). Their operations are not dissimilar to the larger denominational bodies which operate them. Since the work of education and the work of redemption are one, being established on the same foundation (White, 1903), there must

therefore be harmony between the work of the church and the work of the school. In the case of these schools this is not just a philosophical assumption, since the titular head of the larger church organization is also the de facto head of the schools. These schools are required to perform religious functions consistent with the beliefs of the parent organizations, as the case studies will show, and their goal is to train the youth of their church in a setting where it is safe to practice their religious beliefs and deliver "quality" education.

In addition to the fact that they had to be religious schools, they had to be operated by a recognized denominational body with established relationship between the school and the parent organization. The schools had to have some form of governing body and a student population of at least 100 students and 10 staff, sufficient to maintain comparable dynamics between them. The schools also had to have a defined constituency. Each of the schools met these criteria, so the likelihood was that they would offer a richness of information that would illuminate the study. Nyberg (1981) observed that it is rather difficult to penetrate an organization to study power since the persons who grant permission are the ones to be studied, and very few individuals are likely to be comfortable with such a study being conducted on them.

The case study approach to gathering data was chosen because it not only suits the research question best but also is an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 1989). Similar approaches were taken in each of the schools, and the categories which emerged after analysis of the data were the result of the responses given to the questions and other data made available. The data were analyzed and the subsequent reports were written according to the findings at each site.

The respective reports are shown under School X, School Y, and School Z

and are written based on the data gathered. The schools are classified as X, Y, and Z to preserve anonymity, which was agreed on by the researcher and the informants. The schools' locations are not identified except to say that they are in the state of Michigan. Neither are the religious affiliations of these schools disclosed apart from the fact that they are well-established Christian denominations. This posture helps to guarantee the integrity of the research methodology. Access to this information is restricted to the researcher and the dissertation committee that examined the study.

These are not exhaustive case studies, for the purpose was not to interview a variety of informants. The subject of power being such a broad topic had to be narrowed to a specific research area and in doing so the focus was placed on the principals even though teachers and parents have their perspectives on power. The study focused on the principals as the leaders and main power brokers within the institutions, to capture their perspectives and description of the phenomenon as it occurs there. The documents reviewed, along with the principals' insights and notes from observations, serve as the content of the next three chapters. Reference to interviews done with the principals are quoted verbatim and are indicated as volume 1, for School X; volume 2, for School Y; and volume 3, for School Z. Where references are made from documents found in the institutions these are indicated as volume 1a, b, c; volume 2a, b, c; or volume 3a, b, c, as the case may be. Not all the information gathered was used, but that which was relevant to the purpose of the study was selected.

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three case studies to describe the phenomenon of

power as it operates in a natural setting. This is a close-up observation of a religious high school. In this chapter a description is given of the setting in which the school operates and some of its activities. The reader will also gain an understanding of some of the power transactions that actually took place in this institution.

School X--The Setting

School X was established in the latter part of the 19th century and after various moves finally settled at its present suburban location in 1978. This senior high school is a "72,000 square foot complex" (vol. 1, p. 5) situated on approximately 10 acres of land, a portion of a larger parcel owned by the parent organization with its institutional buildings and operations in close proximity. "The church organization owns the property on which School X is located, the facilities in which it is operated, and the equipment with which the school program is conducted" (vol. 1a, p. 8). The school is not an independent entity, but an integral part of the Church's organizational structure. The physical complex provides accommodation for approximately 310 students, with adequate classroom facilities, library, science laboratory, woodworking shop, art room, machine shop, lockers, and gymnasium. Outdoor physical education facilities include tennis courts, a baseball field, basketball court, and an athletic track. There is a chapel and adjoining music rehearsal room, cafeteria lounge, and a nearby administrative suite which contains the principal's, vice principal's, and counselor's offices, and an open area with two secretaries and an attendance officer who relates directly to the students and public at large. One of the secretaries serves as gatekeeper to the principal, making his appointments and screening prospective visitors.

Located elsewhere in the classroom section of the building are the teachers, who have small offices adjoining the classrooms where they teach. They often utilize them for private conferences with parents and students. There are 19 members on this academic staff, 13 males and six females.

The physical structure, though under one roof, has three different wings on the ground floor which converge in the student lounge area adjoining the administrative suite. In this way the principal or any of the administrative officers has easy access to any activities occurring there. From this central area one gains entrance to the chapel which separates one half of the school from the other. It was observed that the chapel is located at the center of the physical structure and its activities occupy a similar position in the life of the school. Students and teachers go there daily for worship, and other assembly-like activities take place there. It is designed to convey a worshipful atmosphere, with cushioned benches for seating rather than chairs, a carpeted floor to facilitate quiet entry and exit, and hymnals and Bibles for use in worship activities. The platform is located in the front of a semi-circular setting, with a speaker's podium, seating for participants, and an organ and piano for use in services, which are usually led by the music department.

The Religious Climate

The school has no ostentatious display of religiosity obvious to visitors who drop by on a cursory visit, and who are usually kept in the designated lounge areas, but the classrooms, library, principal's office, and some teachers offices contain statements, plaques, and religious art which convey a subtle and deep-seated religious undertone. Without any hesitation the principal affirmed that the school is a Christian institution

founded upon the Word of God. "The Scriptures are emphasized as the Word of God and foundation of all truth. Christian principles are the basis of our decisions and actions, and the ultimate goal of the school is to introduce students to Christ" (vol. 1, p. 2). He continued,

> The school is a religious institution because we make Christian values central in our operation. If we were not affiliated with a church and were still doing what we do, I believe that we would still be classified as a religious institution. Our curriculum and culture are immersed into the knowledge of God and the values of His Kingdom. (vol. 1, p. 3)

Such a school would naturally be very serious about its religious activities.

> Every quarter the administration plans additional devotional activities for an entire week. Students and teachers gather to sing, pray, and share their faith, and to listen to devotional talks which at times are given by faculty, students, or a guest speaker. During these meetings many students have experienced conversion and given their lives to Christ. (vol. 1, p. 2)

This is a fixed feature of the institution which serves "to emphasize the central beliefs of our faith" (vol. 1, p. 2). In addition to this week of spiritual emphasis students and teachers participate in Bible camps and weekend retreats under the sponsorship of a member of the faculty who is assigned to that activity for the year. It is not unusual to see the principal, an ordained minister of the church, in attendance at all these religious activities.

The students who participate in these activities do so being aware of their purpose and being resigned to their value in their lives. It is accepted as a norm within the culture. Of the 310 students enrolled, 99% come from families who adhere to the denominational beliefs. The organization's policy does not allow for more than 10% of the student population to be "non-faith" youngsters. In this case, however, only 1% of the entire population is "non-faith" because "we have never had that great percentage

applying" (vol. 1, p. 2). Students are encouraged to participate in the religious life at school and in its religious outreach programs. These outreach programs are voluntary, but daily worship and other in-school religious activities require mandatory attendance and participation. If a student misses worship without a valid excuse he/she has automatically incurred a double absence. Students are allowed a maximum of 20 unexcused absences per quarter from classes or other mandatory activities. A student can easily accumulate many absences in 1 week, but the intent is to help them be good stewards of their time.

Faculty likewise are expected to practice publicly and privately the denominational lifestyle. "Employees who knowingly fail to practice the beliefs and values of the church are reprimanded and may even be terminated" (vol. 1, p. 3). That is why only teachers who adhere to the faith are employed to teach in the institution, and they must also be certified not only by the State but also by the denomination, which has its own criteria for certifying teachers. The organization ensures "that teachers not only have a practical knowledge of what [the church] believes, but also a theoretical knowledge" (vol. 1, p. 3). Teachers are expected to model the lifestyle for their students: their conduct must be morally upstanding. They must attend one of the churches in the area served by the school, and participate in the school's extracurricular activities. The administrator feels that he is bound by the same ethics required of the staff and students, for there is no double standard, and as enforcer of the policies he should be the first to model the expected principles.

School X is closely connected with the local congregations that support it. Their support comes in sending their children to the school, the financial subsidies which

they give monthly to aid in its operations, and the representative delegate who sits on the board and assumes responsibility for the running of the institution.

The Administrative Setting

The church organization which owns the school, through its structure and policy, designates two individuals to serve the institution and be their direct voice there. One of the individuals serves as chairman of the board and the other sits on the board as a professional advisor to ensure that the curriculum reflects the philosophy of the organization. "The board consists of not more than 37 men and women, drawn from different areas of its church constituency. In addition to the two members previously mentioned, the principal serves as secretary. There is one member selected by each of the 16 congregations which support it, and additional members for each 600 members of any congregation. Four pastors from the churches mentioned, the principal of the affiliated elementary school, an alumni association representative, the student association president, and a delegate from the parent organization also sit on the board" (vol. 1, p. 4). Interestingly, the only group that does not have membership on the board is the faculty. Their concerns are raised by and at the discretion of the principal.

The board votes the policies, plans, and programs of the institution for each year, but always within the framework of the wider organizational policy. Some decisions of the board are final whereas others are subject to the approval of the parent organization. "Items pertaining to the budget, salaries of faculty, amendments to organization and working policy for the Operating Board of School X, voted by the operating Board shall be referred [to the committee of the next higher organization] for

action" (vol. 1a, p. 5). This higher organization does require that matters presented to them shall have the prior approval of the operating board of School X. Generally, the board hires staff, renews contracts, approves faculty committees as recommended by the administration, and deals with student matters which need their approval. Its first function is "to maintain the school as a [denominational X] educational institution and an integral part of that denomination's school system in fulfillment of the church's teaching ministry" (vol. 1a, p. 9). The principal writes the agenda in consultation with the chairperson, and in addition to serving as secretary to the board, is the major advisor on matters relating to the institution's internal operations.

The day-to-day operations of the school and the execution of its policies are delegated by the board to the principal. He is accountable to the board for the smooth running of every facet of the institution. Principal X is a man in his late 40s who for most of the interviews sat behind his desk, giving a rather bureaucratic portrait of himself. He is married and has two teenage daughters. He was educated from high school through college in the educational system for which he works. He was quite knowledgeable about the operations of the organization. He was trained as a pastor and then studied in the field of education at the graduate level. Since leaving college he has spent his life working for the church, and for the past 20 years as an educational administrator.

Principal X reported that he is assisted by a vice principal and a counselor. The composition of the administrative and support staff is as follows: Administration 2, counseling 1, classroom teachers 16.5, support staff 4, total 23.5. The gender and ethnic makeup is: female, 36%; male, 64%; White, 88%; African American, 4%; other, 8%. The educational level represents: Doctorates, 2; Master's degrees, 16; Bachelor's

degrees, 6.5. The number of years in School X education: 8% of teachers over 25 years, 55% between 6 and 24 years, 28% between 2 and 5 years, and 9% with 1 year experience.

> As chief administrator, it is my role to assign the duties of the school to individuals that are capable to perform them. Because it is impossible for the administrator to perform all the needed functions, various departments are established, each with its specific delegated responsibilities. My organizational structure has a circular design. (vol. 1, p. 7)

The principal's role is clearly outlined in his job description which is documented in the operating policies. These policies give guidelines as to the relationship of faculty, students, other stakeholders, including parents, and the parent organization to the school. The basis of the principal's actions must always be in harmony with the organization's working policy (vol. 1a, p. 6).

The program and curriculum development and implementation are the professional responsibility of the faculty under the leadership of the principal and other relevant denominational education officials. If faculty have recommendations on the curriculum, "the operating board must first consider all faculty recommendations on educational policies before implementation. These must be in accordance with established educational policies" (vol. 1a, p. 8). The principal becomes the nexus to ensure that the board and faculty understand each other. "The mission, philosophy and objectives, general policies, and budgetary provisions as voted by the operating board are interpreted to the faculty by the principal; conversely, the principal interprets the policies of the faculty to the operating board" (vol. 1a, p. 8). The legislative power of the faculty is awarded by the board through the principal. The power of the board, however, in all its dealings with the school is effective only when it acts as a corporate body. Individual

members do not act on behalf of the board unless it designates them to do so by voted action. The principal is the only member who can act as a single individual because the board invests that responsibility in him as the chief administrator.

The operating board at its first meeting each year appoints standing committees to study various needs of the school and to make recommendations to the board. These committees include the committee on curriculum, accreditation, and personnel; the committee on marketing and finance; the committee on school health and safety (vol. 1a, p. 13). A faculty member is selected by his/her colleagues to sit on each committee, and "each member of the operating board may be assigned to at least one of the standing committees by the chair after consultation with the principal" (vol. 1a, p. 13). The policy does not allow teachers to be members of the board, but they may serve on subcommittees of the board.

The Academic and Social Scene

The church's office of education provides the school with curriculum guides which outline the concepts and content that must be taught in each discipline. From this point teachers use their own style and methodology in consultation with their professional colleagues "to ensure that the concepts are adequately covered during the course of study" (vol. 1, p. 17). There is not much allowance for variation from these guidelines which are generally accepted as credible, having been developed by practicing teachers and administrators. This school is regarded as "a college preparatory school with its main academic focus being to help students prepare for college" (vol. 1, p. 33). Approximately 90% of its graduates go to college (see vol. 1, p. 16). There is an

awareness that there are some students who do not master their work at as rapid a rate as others who are in the school, and the principal noted that during his tenure as chief administrator he has been able to "identify those students with learning needs and develop a plan to help them succeed" (vol. 1, p. 33). Such students, according to the principal, are required to practice learning strategies to aid their academic growth.

This is the approach, Principal X said, that is manifested to all students whether they master concepts early or need more time. The important element here is that the teachers are seen as caring, loving persons whom students can relate to. In his own words, the principal wants to be remembered as "one who cared for the 'underdog' in our school. It is easy for the students at the bottom of the ladder to be ignored and for them to slip through the cracks. I tried my best to help them get a good education" (vol. 1, p. 34).

At the time of their first registration students are given a handbook which outlines all the academic requirements until they graduate. With the help of an advisor and a counselor, they chart a path to success. Crucial to this quest for knowledge and academic excellence is the awareness that

> God is the source of true knowledge. He created man with an insatiable desire to search, discover, and describe. Man fulfills this compulsion by utilizing these aspects of his creativity in perceiving God and in responding to what God has done. (vol. 1b, p. 30)

This is the stated philosophical understanding which informs the principal's, teachers', and students' approach to education.

School X is accredited by the accrediting association of the denomination to which it belongs; the University of Michigan Bureau of Accreditation and School

Improvement Studies; and the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges. The institution is also recognized for excellence in education and was a 1984 recipient of the School of Excellence Award presented by the United States Department of Education Secondary School Recognition Program (School Bulletin, p. 1).

The social activities of the institution are directly linked with the students' academic performance and conduct. The extent to which a student is able to participate in the school's social life is contingent on that student's academic progress.

> To be eligible to be elected as an officer for the Student Association, Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, or Senior class, National Honor Society, Student Paper Editor, or any other student organization, the student must have and maintain a good and regular citizenship status and have and maintain a current and cumulative grade point average of 2.00 and higher.
>
> Students who qualify at the time of their election but fall into a citizenship probationary status or whose current or cumulative grade point average is less than 2.00 must resign their office. The organization's sponsor and school principal, or vice principal will work with the organization to arrange a plan for handling the vacancy. (Student Handbook, p. 75)

This particular school, which was recognized by the United States Government Drug-Free School Environment Program in 1990-1991 (vol. 1b, p. 39), provides for social activities and games on a non-competitive basis. The principal noted that the school does not participate in any competitive sports, since such activities for the most part would contradict some of the spiritual and social values taught which require students to work together. The school sponsors a range of social, recreational, and spiritual programs designed to make up for the lack (vol. 1a, p. 15), and students are encouraged to participate in these activities planned by their schoolmates and faculty. Any activity that is to take place under the auspices of the school, however, must first be submitted to the principal's office on a Student Activity Proposal Form at least 2 weeks

in advance of the event. Events held on school nights must conclude by 8:00 p.m. Any group wishing to use the school's facilities or represent the school in an official or unofficial capacity must have faculty permission to organize and function. Each student organization must be approved by the principal and have a copy of its constitution and by-laws on file in the administrative office (vol. 1b, p. 75).

The social activities of the school are planned primarily for students and faculty. The community at large does not have access to these activities. The school, however, interacts with the community through planned civic and religious outreach programs. The culture in which the school operates is summed up in the words of the principal as "very traditional, conservative, and unaccommodating to change" (vol. 1, p. 23).

The Structure and Design of School X

School X is located in Michigan and operates within a particular geographical zone which is prescribed by the controlling church organization. There are 16 churches in this particular zone whose youngsters of high-school age eligible for admission receive priority acceptance. According to the organizational policy the school recruits only in this area since there are other schools in the state operated by this denomination, with their assigned zones within which to recruit. Schools are encouraged to limit their recruiting within their zones (see vol. 1, pp. 9-12). Ultimately all the schools within the state fall under the policy of the central body which coordinates and supervises their activities. This institution is structured to determine that the policy of the parent organization becomes the model from which it designs its local policies.

The policies which the board drafts must be submitted to the parent organization for its approval to ensure that they are in harmony with the model policy by which the higher church organization operates. The importance of these guidelines cannot be overstated, because the institution is run strictly by their prescription. It is this policy which determines that the composition of the board include only practicing members of the denomination; it outlines the parameters within which the board operates; it tells the principal what his duties are; it defines the relationship between the churches and the school and the quality and quantity support each gives to the other; it decides who may be admitted to the school, their code of conduct, and the relationship with parents and the community at large. It is the principal, under the direction of the board, who enforces these policies (vol. 1a). Hence, it is to the advantage of the organization to see that the right person is placed in that position to carry out its wishes.

The parent organization appoints the chairperson for the operating board as well as the professional supervisor of its programs. The churches in its territory also play a central role in decision making as many of their members also sit on the board. The school's policy gives direction on the composition of the board and the categories and method of their selection. "There are three categories of members: the elected members, who should not exceed twenty-eight; those appointed, four; and five ex officio members by virtue of their position in the parent organization" (vol. 1a, p. 2). The parent organization also appoints the four mentioned in category two, which means that 25% of the total membership is determined by the parent organization. Of the remaining number, four are members of the clergy who are directly answerable to the parent organization, even though they serve in the local congregations. The remaining 60% of the board is

selected with some input by the clergy, since they are chosen from the supporting congregations (vol. 1a, p. 2). Each of the entities represented on the board grants an operational subsidy which accounts for 8% of the school's budget. The other 92% is made up of tuition and fees collected from students.

The responsibilities and duties of the board are outlined in its policies. Its responsibilities include managing fiscal, personnel, and the general business matters of the school. Most fiscal and personnel matters are voted subject to the approval of the higher organization which thereby keeps abreast of the activities transpiring in this particular unit. "The principal is the secretary to the board and makes up the agenda in consultation with the chair" (vol. 1a, p. 4). He is in the unique position of being aware of what is happening in the school and also on the board. He represents the school to the board and vice versa. His responsibilities, outlined through the policies, encompass the totality of the school's operation. He confers with the chair as often as is necessary outside the scheduled bi-monthly meetings. To a large extent he determines what items are brought up for discussion since he is the link between the internal and external influencers. Unwittingly, he determines what he thinks is best for the institution: "If the board and myself are at a stalemate about the 'how' of doing things, I would communicate even more fervently with them to arrive at a mutual understanding of the right thing to do" (vol. 1, p. 3).

In his role as chief executive officer, the principal guides the school along the prescribed path, interprets the policies to the internal and external publics, and recruits and trains personnel to carry out their responsibilities in a timely and purposeful manner. The guidelines preclude employing staff who are not members of the faith, and who do

not have denominational certification to teach. To obtain this certification the teacher must complete certain religion and education courses taught by teachers of the denomination in a denominational college (vol. 1, p. 22). Extraneous reasons have in the past led Principal X to employ a teacher of what he considers "high moral values, on a part-time basis" because the technical skills were not available otherwise, but he hesitated to say what subject areas were contracted out. He spoke with certainty, however, as to the classes such a person would not teach, including religion. "I would also be very cautious about having someone who is not of our faith to teach courses in science, music, and history" (vol. 1, p. 32).

Ultimately all appointments recommended by the principal and voted by the board must be ratified by the higher organization, and this invariably happens. This general body makes sure that committed individuals who understand its mission are placed in these crucial subsidiary leadership positions. Working under the direction of the principal and other administrative officers, the staff carries out its assigned duties of providing instruction and other co-curricular activities for students, as well as modeling the lifestyle and principles which students are expected to follow. A teacher who is delinquent in providing such leadership may, after verbal and written reminders and warnings, be removed or not have his/her contract renewed at the end of the school year (see vol. 1, pp. 15-20). Everyone within the organization must understand and work within the parameters of the mission statement which purports to "develop and nurture God-fearing, capable, and responsible young people in a loving, caring, and Christian atmosphere" (vol. 1b, p. 31).

Ideology and Control

The philosophy and objectives of School X state that the prime purpose of this institution is to "provide quality education in an atmosphere conducive to the development of the spiritual life of the student" (vol. 1b, p. 28). The core belief of the organization is that the universe was created by a Divine Creator who guides and sustains all life. From this axiomatic perspective the school claims to build its educational program to lead students to a full commitment of their intellectual, social, spiritual, and physical faculties to the service of God and humanity. Its stated goal is "to prepare for society, individuals who are maturing [denominational X] Christians, and who are productive and worthy citizens" (vol. 1b, p. 28).

This document (volume 1b), which is a part of the incoming student's package, also spells out the organizational understanding of the source of knowledge and the means of communicating that knowledge to others:

> God is the source of true knowledge. He created man with an insatiable desire to search, discover, and describe. Man fulfills this compulsion by utilizing these aspects of his creativity in perceiving God and in responding to what God has wrought. But this activity of man is accomplished through faith and influenced by an aspect of God's love for man, namely His communication with man by means of inspired writings, the Holy Spirit, nature, caring human relationships, and experiences of life. (p. 30)

With this bedrock understanding, this organization, concerned with the delivery of the educational product to the students as the primary stakeholders, plans its programs so that the students will recognize that

> the harmonious development of their character is through the work of the Holy Spirit; the Bible and the sacred writings of the Church fathers and denominational patriarchs will be utilized in discovering the relevant and unerring principles for directing their lives; they will choose to be intelligent, committed, [denominational X] Christians who will internalize the values consistent with the church's beliefs;

> they will understand the mission of the church and accept personal responsibility for spreading the gospel throughout the world. (vol. 1a, p. 30)

This holistic education, which "is offered as a gift of love" to the students, is seen to lead to a healthier, happier lifestyle. Principal X further asserted that this work of education "is not an activity that ends with this life, but that the impact of our work will last into eternity" (vol. 1, p. 35). That is why it is essential that students become followers of Jesus Christ so that the lifestyle which they choose and the relationship with Jesus will facilitate a continuity in the educational process. For Principal X, the requirement to make students followers of Jesus is taken seriously:

> I view my work as an administrator as a calling from God. He has empowered me to act on His behalf and to represent Him to the people that He allows into the school. In that sense my authority comes from God. It is not an authority that means power to lord it over people, but the authority to be like Jesus was when He was a teacher among men. . . . Though I do not verbalize this as I walk into my office daily, I am always conscious of the commission that I have received from Christ and the relationship of that commission to the personal and professional goals that I have for myself and the institution that I work for. (vol. 1, p. 24)

The nature and scope of the tasks to be performed in School X demand that there is constant communication with God, and the means by which this is effected is through prayer. "It [prayer] is one way of staying in touch with our Maker" (vol. 1, p. 16). Because of the personal element of prayer, it is difficult to mandate it, and yet the corporate aspect allows it to be scheduled into the program. There is a positive attitude toward prayer and a conviction that God answers prayers.

> We have seen time and time again very definite answers to our prayers. God's intervention has proved to us that human wisdom and skill are insufficient to do His will. We make no apology for using prayer because it is our means of communicating with God who has repeatedly intervened in the affairs of the school. (vol. 1, p. 6)

Principal X believes that before he deals with any situation, he should first pray to receive guidance from the Holy Spirit in making the right decision.

> There is never a time when I refrain from praying publicly to invite God's intervention in the work that I do. Prayer is the oxygen of successful leadership in a Christian school, and even as oxygen is necessary for living organisms to stay alive, so also is prayer [essential] for a Christian school to be vibrant and successful. (vol. 1, p. 35)

Teachers are expected to pray at the beginning of each class, and students are encouraged to internalize prayer and make it a part of their lifestyle.

Control of Teachers

The belief in and "understanding of God and His intervention in human affairs, and the individual's response to Him" (vol. 1a, p. 30), is a part of the training process that new teachers must pass through to make them transmitters of the heritage and belief system to the next generation of adherents. "Not only is this done as part of the denominational certification process, but also at the point of entry into the organization" (vol. 1, p. 3). New staff members are trained into the culture by the faculty who have been at the school for many years. "I usually assign a new teacher to a senior one so that the new teacher has someone who has much knowledge about the school and can be there to answer questions for them" (vol.1, p. 15). In addition, Principal X meets with each new teacher personally to share with them the history, culture, and expectations of the school. He also discusses their responsibilities and gives them orientation to the scope of their work, evaluation, salary, and other issues relevant to their assignment.

This orientation session with the principal establishes the parameters within which the employee functions. The new employee is made aware of the role of the

Scriptures in the curriculum, that everything which is taught must harmonize with the Word of God which is their frame of reference. The teacher does not have the freedom to determine what is to be taught; that is the prerogative of the organization's department of education, but he/she can use his/her own style and methodology to ensure that the concepts are adequately covered within the allotted time (vol. 1, p. 13).

Principal X also outlines the scope of teachers' academic freedom within the boundaries of the belief system. Teachers have liberty to discuss contemporary issues such as AIDS, abortion, evolution, cloning, genetic engineering, and so forth, but students must also be brought to an understanding of these issues in accordance with the principles outlined in the Bible and understood by the denomination. Principal X employs teachers who he is confident have professional judgment to determine the appropriateness of the content to be discussed in class and who will help to foster the values and beliefs of the institution. Despite such precautions, a teacher may verbally support the mission of the school yet undermine it with what he/she teaches behind closed doors. The system is not foolproof. In such a closely knit Christian community, Principal X is confident that before long he would have feedback from students, parents, or faculty. Anyone caught propagating heresy would be suspended immediately "until further notice from the board" (vol. 1, p. 14).

The task of supervising and evaluating the academic staff is exclusively the responsibility of the principal. At the end of each year he reviews their performance with them and recommends to the board a renewal of their contract or termination. He is not able to do a specific evaluation of every teacher in any one year, so one third are evaluated in year 1, one third in year 2, and one third in year 3. When teachers are not

being evaluated directly, he relies on student outcomes to determine teacher effectiveness. A teacher may escape the scrutiny of the administrator if he/she is not effective in his/her academic speciality, but there are areas which if breached would elicit a swift response.

A teacher may be terminated forthwith for situations invol.ving moral misconduct, child abuse, or teaching anything that is against the beliefs of the church and the school. In such a case a financial settlement is made which is congruent with the individual's salary scale and years of service (see vol. 1, p. 14). Each year the board through the principal offers or renews the contract of each teacher. This contract details their certification status, which is their permit to work in the institution, their salary and benefits, and whatever else is necessary to remind them of their commitment to the organization (vol. 1, p. 30)

Control of Students

Admission to the school is granted to students irrespective of race, color, religion, or national origin providing there is available space. The prospective student must, however, meet the character requirements and "express a willingness to cooperate with the school's policies and adjust congenially to its religious, social, and cultural atmosphere" (vol. 1b, p. 43). Students are made aware that this admission is "a privilege and not a right, and may be withheld or withdrawn by the school at its discretion and in harmony with its mission, function and procedures" (vol. 1b, p. 43). In addition to filling out the formal application, a letter of recommendation attesting to the applicant's character and suitability for acceptance to the institution must be submitted.

Each student is given a handbook and is held responsible for complying with the rules and regulations which are written there. The students must give careful attention to their social behavior while in school regarding the public display of affection, which may earn citizenship probation, or in extreme cases dismissal; marriage, which is forbidden during the school year; and snow throwing, which may only take place on the play field. Students' attire for school is monitored to comply with the school policy and the church's standards for dress. Simplicity in dress is stressed, and wearing of jewelry and excessive make-up are forbidden (see vol. 1b, pp. 78, 79).

One area of school life that students must take seriously is their attendance at religious services. All students are required to attend the regularly scheduled assembly, chapel, and morning devotions. They are urged to "consider these appointments as integral parts of their education" (vol. 1b, p. 42). Whereas there is a tardiness plan provided for other aspects of the daily activities, there is none provided for devotional services or assembly programs which are under the direction of the principal, but may be assigned to individual staff members on any given day. "A student arriving for a devotional service or assembly program after the service begins is marked absent. Two points are deducted from the attendance score for each unexcused absence from a devotional service" (vol. 1b, p. 80). At each assembly an attendance record is taken to determine who the absentees are, and those without valid excuses earn demerits. Each student is allowed 20 cumulative absences for the quarter, but loses 2 each time he/she is absent from a devotional activity.

Principal X does not think students have difficulty conforming to the school regulations because "Administrators and teachers are expected to model the desired

behavior. We also reward appropriate behavior and also allow students to face the consequences of inappropriate behavior." He elaborated on the consequences for breaking school rules as

> citizenship probation, suspension, and expulsion. When a student is placed on citizenship he cannot attend overnight functions with any school group, so that disciplinary action gets their attention rather quickly because they do not want to be deprived of such a privilege. (vol. 1, p. 15)

The Power of the Principal

Principal X, while agreeing that his position carries much power, used every opportunity to minimize the amount of authority which he has, and was uncomfortable with the idea of having power because as he claimed,

> power is perceived by some as something that leaders should possess and use, but I do not see it that way. There is no urge in me to lord it over people and to show them who is the boss. I believe in the power of love, not the love of power. (vol. 1, p. 25)

He further commented that

> power if it is abused is not good. Few people can handle the idea of having power. The example of Jesus who had all power is a lesson for all leaders. When power or authority is vested in someone, it must be utilized to serve others and not to manipulate them. (vol. 1, p. 25)

He made the following disclaimer:

> I do not operate from a position of power but one of servanthood. It is true that I am delegated with the responsibility to operate the school on a daily basis and that carries some power with it in that I must be invol.ved in many of the decisions that are made around here. And some of these decisions could be to hire and to fire. I further believe that a leader has only as much power as his followers allow him.

"So you have the power to hire and fire and the power to close the school?" he was asked, to which he responded:

> Let's put it this way, I coordinate the decisions that are made to carry out any of these functions. I also have the responsibility to allocate funds, evaluate teachers, and recommend disciplinary measures. (vol. 1, pp. 24, 25)

Principal X appeared to be either modest about the authority which he has or unaware of the near absolute power which he commands in the institution so long as he practices the beliefs of the organization. The principal serves, by policy, as the secretary to the school board. In that position, he is an "advisor to the [head of the organization] about possible candidates for the chairmanship [of the board]" (vol. 1, p. 5). He works closely with the chair to determine the criteria for selecting members to the board, then recommends to the board the various subcommittees to appoint, working closely with the chairman to appoint them. The subcommittee on governance on which he sits reviews policies and makes recommendations to the full board about changes that should be made in the policy. The full board then votes on any recommended changes. As secretary to the board he makes the agenda, in consultation with the chair, and because he is involved with the internal operations, the chair defers to him. The principal is the sole representative for the staff that votes on the board. The policy does not allow teachers to be members of the board, but they may serve on any of its subcommittees if they have the necessary expertise (vol. 1a, pp. 12-15).

Since 99% of the student body are from families who are members of the supporting congregations, the principal is in direct contact with these families, not only at the school level but also at the church level. Every church congregation has at least one representative on the board. That contact allows him entrance into the churches where he speaks frequently, interacting with parents and students at another level outside of

school. He is given the forum to promote the school and its programs in whatever way he chooses.

In his relationship with the staff, Principal X sees himself as operating on a "circular paradigm where he occupies the center, but is also on the perimeter with the employees" (vol. 1, p. 7). As the administrator of the school his function is somewhat similar to the teacher in the classroom: "My position is not over that of the teachers. In the circular paradigm that I referred to, there is no position of authority in the traditional sense. Everyone is equally responsible for the operation and success of the school" (vol. 1, p. 8). He views himself as a coach and at the same time as a cheer leader. When the team does well and the accolades come in he passes them on, and he also sees himself as performing surgery which is necessary at times. To assist him with this at the staff level is a personnel committee, and at the student level, the student affairs committee. Recommendations from these committees are either dealt with by the principal or referred to the board for adjudication. The principal serves as the secretary to the personnel committee, and in the absence of the chair designated by policy, he chairs the committee.

Heads of departments share in the administration of the school at the pleasure of the principal. He delegates responsibilities to them according to the provisions of the school policy and the expertise which they have. He reserves the right exclusively to evaluate every member of his staff and discuss his findings with them. After a teacher has served 6 years on a provisional status, the principal may recommend that the board grant him/her tenure. This, however, may not be granted if "unsatisfactory performance or other personal problems indicate that the teacher needs more time to prove his/her ability. If there are questions about the teacher's lifestyle, that may also delay tenure" (vol. 1, p.

19). He observed, however, that every effort is made to deal with such situations before they become a hindrance to the teacher's advancement. Notwithstanding, "open defiance and/or insubordination to the values and policies of the school is cause for professional discipline, and that could be in the form of a reprimand, probation, withdrawal of credentials, and termination" (vol. 1, p. 13).

Before this last option is chosen the principal would have exhausted all other options such as counseling with the teacher, documenting evidence, and personnel committee review before taking the matter to the board for final action. Principal X does not tolerate dissent because he feels that "when people are dissenting and are unwilling to cooperate with management, it makes the system less efficient, because administration has to spend more energy on solving problems than on creating opportunities for everyone" (vol. 1, p. 22).

Ultimately he concedes that it is an awesome responsibility to balance his position of power with being a model for others.

> People are looking to me for the example of what Christ looks like if He is a principal. A school cannot rise higher than its leader, so I must accept the challenge of demonstrating the beliefs of the system in the way I relate to my work and to people" (vol. 1, p. 26).

Leading by What Authority

Principal X, usually attired in a dark suit and tie, sat behind a huge wooden desk. There are three chairs in front of the desk for visitors to the office. From behind this semi-barricade he projects a formal business-like image of one who knows what he wants to accomplish and whose focus is to get it done immediately. When asked what he perceived as the source of his authority to function as head of the institution, he

responded in staccato phrases, adding more information at the prompting of the interviewer. His answers affirmed his belief that God had placed him there using the board as His instrument, and that the mission of the school must be accomplished through him: "I am answerable to the board, hence I have the authority to assign duties and expect results that help the school to fulfill its mission. . . . I am called by God and appointed to do a specific task" (vol. 1, pp. 26, 28).

He sees no dichotomy between his work as a pastor and as administrator of the school since in both cases it is a "call from God":

> He has empowered me to act on His behalf and to represent Him to the people that He allows into the school. In that sense my authority comes from God . . . though I do not verbalize this as I walk into my office daily, I am always conscious of the commission that I have received from Christ and the relationship of that commission to the personal and professional goals that I have for myself and the institution that I work for. (vol. 1, p. 24)

Principal X sees his call from God as the primary source of his authority to lead the school, and everything else must be subservient to that reality. His accountability to the people of the organization is not in contradistinction to this primary source of power. He also recognizes that in a secondary sense his power is from the people: "I have no authority outside that which is given to me by the people I serve" (vol. 1, p. 11).

The people's power is channeled through the school board which appointed him and then delegated to him the daily operation of the school (vol. 1, p. 34). Having received that mandate

> as the chief administrator, I have the authority to delegate responsibilities. The bottom line is that I am answerable to the school board, hence I have the authority to assign duties and expect results that help the school to fulfill its mission. (vol. 1, p. 26)

In order to accomplish that mission Principal X takes responsibility for recruiting,

interviewing, selecting, orienting, and placing teachers.

> The personnel committee of the school would always meet the candidate for a group interview and the person would be hired on a majority vote of the group. It is true, however, that as I recruit and sort the candidates, my influence on the final outcome is major. (vol. 1, p. 32)

Having selected the required staff "as the chief administrator, it is my role to assign the duties of the school and because it is impossible for the administrator to perform all needed functions, various departments are established, each with its specific delegated responsibility" (vol. 1, p. 7).

The principal assumed a proactive approach to guiding the school and ensured that it focused on its purported mission. He sees this as his "God-given" and "board-appointed" responsibility and takes the necessary steps to accomplish it.

> However I am not naive to think that sometimes plans do not go off track. Just to keep the school on track with its mission, I frequently ask staff, how does this action or proposed action of yours help the school to fulfill its mission? If a satisfactory answer cannot be given to that question, then that course ought not to be followed. My sense of mission and direction are tools that help to keep the institution on course. I am a firm believer of management by mission, and if the institution I lead were veering from expected pathways, I would assess the situation and share with staff my vision of where the school ought to be heading. I would be persistent in the need for redirection. (vol. 1, pp. 11, 12)

Principal X, while aware that he has been legitimized by the board, his divine call, and his appointed position, is also conscious that he must be legitimized by the people he leads.

> Personal example has been the most powerful tool in implementing the mission of the institution. I believe that the power of my example should exceed the authority of my rank, so example is the greatest tactic that I have used to lead and influence people. (vol. 1, p. 31)

"It is my role as a servant leader to serve through example and not from a position of authority" (vol. 1, p. 7). This kind of referent and expert power and the confidence with

which they were articulated are attributed to what he called "my years of repeated success" (vol. 1, p. 11) as an administrator. He claimed to be professionally well prepared theoretically and practically (he has a doctorate in education and 20 years of experience) and "the feedback that I receive from those I serve also confirm my effectiveness, and that builds confidence" (vol. 1, p. 11). It is with that confidence that he confronts challenging situations with both staff and students, provides instructional leadership, and shares information with staff at his discretion (see vol. 1, pp. 8, 30).

Distributing Influence

Principal X noted that the extent of the impact of the board on the institution is largely dependent on him as the gatekeeper. Not only does he serve as gatekeeper for the board to the staff and students but also of the staff and students to the board corporately. Naturally he understands the chair to be the single most powerful individual outside himself and summed up the relationship between them in these words: "I try to keep a good relationship with whoever that person is. Not for the reason of securing my job, but for helping to provide leadership for the school" (vol. 1, p. 24). Principal X also felt it was important to maintain a good relationship with the staff, not on the same level as the board since "the teachers are not voting members of the board and would be overruled if the board wants to do anything. I suppose if the board wants to terminate someone, the teachers do not have the power to stop the action" (vol. 1, p. 24).

He noted, however, that it was to his advantage to ally himself with the teachers as his position would be somewhat secured in doing so. "If your teachers are not happy with your administration you do not have a chance to survive for long in your

position. Teachers will rise to your defense even if a board member is unhappy with your administration" (vol. 1, p. 23). He asserted that he is able to influence his staff and get them to accept decisions by sharing as much information as he is able. "When people do not have sufficient information, they tend to reject decisions that affect them. For decisions that affect the school and its operation, I usually get broad input from faculty and staff before making them. Staff input is very important in decision making" (vol. 1, p. 28). With the settled philosophy that leadership is relationship, and relationship is the key to impacting an organization, he pointed out that from the first day on the job "I was on a mission to develop and nurture good relationships with my staff."

When asked how he built this relationship with his staff, he responded,

> By personally getting to meet and know each staff member, showing interest in what they do and developing an interest in their personal goals and values. I also arranged for opportunities for the faculty to get together and have collegial fellowship with one another and myself. (vol. 1, p. 27)

Having established those relationships, Principal X felt he was better able to assign teachers varying tasks in addition to their teaching loads. All are assigned to different committees as members or as chair. But even in these assignments he allowed them to indicate their preferences: "The faculty are also given a chance to state their preference for the committee they would like to serve on, and then the committees are structured by giving teachers their first, second, or third choice" (vol. 1, p. 18). He expected teachers to serve on the committee to which they were assigned, but if that did not happen he "would try to find out the reason and then reassign the teacher if necessary" (vol. 1, p. 18).

In addition to the school rules which students are expected to obey, various

incentives, awards, and scholarships are available to the diligent and conscientious who are willing and able to access them. There is recognition for students with high attendance scores; they may register first and obtain an arranged absence for 1 day during the next school year. Still others obtain tuition scholarships for high academic performance and good citizenship (vol. 1b, p. 81). In these ways a student's behavior is influenced and there is public compliance with the system.

Another way in which internal influence is exerted is through the organization's belief system. There are planned activities at times when special "emphasis is given to helping faculty and students focus on Christ" (vol. 1, p. 2), to reflect and bring their lives in harmony with the ideals of the organization. During these special 'weeks of prayer,' "many students have experienced conversion and given their lives to Christ" (vol. 1, p. 2). Often from these experiences some students emerge as members of the church, more willing to involve themselves in outreach activities and community services.

The school believes in prayer which is seen as a means of communicating with God and dealing with difficult situations:

> It [prayer] is one way of staying in touch with our Maker. In that sense it is a means to an end. Prayer is always an appropriate thing especially in a Christian school. There is no rule about prayer before or after dealing with a difficult situation. There are times when I have prayed before, during, and after dealing with a problem. The answer to our prayers gives us encouragement. We have seen time and time again very definite answers to our prayers. God's intervention has proved to us that human wisdom and skill are insufficient to do His will. We make no apologies for using prayer because it is our means of communicating with God who has repeatedly intervened in the affairs of the school. There is never a time when I refrain from praying publicly to invite God's intervention in the work that I do. Prayer is the oxygen of successful leadership in a Christian school and even as oxygen is necessary for living organisms to stay alive, so also is prayer for a Christian school to be vibrant and successful. (vol. 1, pp. 6, 36)

Summary

This chapter provided a description of the setting of the first institution that was observed and some of the power transactions occurring there. The interviews with the principal were corroborated by observing him as he carries out his tasks, and by the policies and manuals which outline the relationships and responsibilities of the individuals involved in the school's operation. The institution has good physical facilities, is located in spacious surroundings, and has a staff to provide for the needs of its student population. The institution is guided by a philosophy and mission which harmonizes with the mission of the church organization that operates it. The structure indicates that it is intricately intertwined with the main organization, which has its representatives on the board to ensure that it operates in accordance with the stated philosophy and mission. In fact, all the members of the board are practicing members of the church.

The principal, who serves as the leader/CEO of the institution, is the link between the owners and the operators. The church organization owns the institution, makes the general policies from which the school drafts its local policies, and serves as the final arbiter for matters which cannot be settled at that level. The power which he has by virtue of his position is legitimized by the board and understood by the individuals who serve in the institution. He is the person who employs staff, subject to the approval of the board, he delegates their responsibility, evaluates their performance, recommends promotion and tenure, and has the final say in all decisions in the institution with staff, students, and parents. This wide range of responsibility gives him just about the greatest influence in the institution, providing he can generate the necessary referent power.

The institution is held together by its ideology which informs every aspect of

the operations. It drives the mission, the curriculum, the code of conduct for teachers and students, and demands commitment to the institution. Principal, teachers, students, and parents are required to accept or respect the beliefs and practices and order their conduct accordingly as long as they are associated with it. This is the defining element of the institution, without which there would be hardly much difference between it and a secular type of institution. The school adopts its principles and practices from Scripture, and the principal claimed that he models Jesus Christ, in the way He deals with people and situations of power, as he runs the school.

The principal makes every effort to downplay the issue of power which is evident in all aspects of the school's operation. It is seen in the way the teachers are held to a pre-designed curriculum, code of conduct and requirements of the system, one-person evaluation of their performance, and their requirements of students, among other things. All these requirements are for the express intention of fulfilling the mission of the school.

CHAPTER IV

THE USE OF POWER IN SCHOOL Y

Introduction

This chapter is the second of three case studies observing the use of power in religious schools. The questions which were asked of the principal are similar to those asked in the other cases, yet the responses vary in accordance with the philosophical perspective and the type of structure that befit this institution. The categories are similar to the first case and there are similarities and differences which will become apparent as data are presented. Again, the material presented here describes the setting and some of the transactions which take place there.

The interviews were conducted on site and mainly in the principal's office where he sat at his desk after taking the interviewer on a tour of the facility; he was also observed as he participated in his daily routine: leading out in assembly, conducting staff meetings, supervising lunch, and interacting with students. Most of the day is spent in his office relating to administrative issues.

School Y--the Setting

School Y emerged in 1970 as a result of a consolidation of two previous schools which had existed in nearby cities since the 1920s. It is considered a regional denominational school which serves 13 communities adjoining the one in which the

school is located. The present structure was originally an L-shaped three-story building, but with the addition of the gymnasium it appears rectangular, allowing access to every part of the building through entrances made with each addition. The structure is located in the heart of the city on premises which it shares with the church. It is a three-story building of brown brick over 30 years old. The main entrance is just a few yards from the street. On entering the building, one is greeted with the following words written in bold capital letters clearly visible to all, "Be it known to all who enter here, that Christ is the reason for this school, the unseen but ever present teacher in its classes, the model of its faculty and the inspiration of its students."

With the exception of the administrative offices, which are carpeted, the floor is tiled. The stairways that lead to the upper floors are also tiled and spacious enough for students to walk in threes side by side. Immediately facing the main entrance of the school are the administrative offices where the secretary and attendance officers work. The principal's office is located in a more private section of the building with his personal secretary. On the ground floor are the classroom for Grades 7 and 8. This complex houses students from Grades 7 to 12. The cafeteria, which also is a multipurpose hall for assembly and band practice, is also on the ground floor. In the passage way leading to the gym is a "hall of fame" of past students who have excelled in sports and have put the school in the spotlight. Grades 9 through 12 are located on the top floors as well as the library, computer, and science labs.

Because the entire block is occupied with buildings, the school had to secure additional land across the street for parking. There is no outdoor space for physical education, which is confined to the gym. The internal facilities appear adequate to fulfill

the educational needs of the 340 students enrolled there. They come in at 8:00 in the morning and leave at 3:00 in the afternoon. Dressed in uniforms, they move quietly throughout the buildings.

The school is quiet while classes are in session, and at the sound of the bell they move to the next class with order, decorum, and respect as if standing in the presence of someone they fear. The only sound heard is the clicking of locks on the locker doors and clang of metal as the lockers gently close. There is no one monitoring the hallways as students move from class to class.

The principal attributed some of the students' academic success to the orderliness and sense of purpose and focus which the students exhibited. In fact, he noted that 92% of the senior class went to college during the 1994-1995 school year and 100% the previous year (vol. 2, p. 14). The school claims not to have academics as its top priority. The order of priority is religion, academics, and athletics (vol. 2, p. 13).

He also pointed out that the responsibility for operating the school is solely that of the church, particularly the two major congregations whose pastors oversee its operations. The members are also supportive of the school with approximately 70% of all Denominational Y students within that age group attending the school. The student body is made up of 81% Denomination Y and 19% non-Denomination Y.

> The church is very big on supporting [this school]. About half our tuition necessary to operate comes from the parishes so they have a substantial input in trying to keep tuition prices down to a reasonable level, and they offset that every year with their donations to the building. (vol. 2, p. 2)

The school is registered with the state of Michigan as a non-profit organization and does not receive state funds to foster its operations. It is accredited by

the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges.

The Religious Climate

The principal described the religious aspect of the school in the following way:

> I would consider it a religious school because we have a basic understanding as to how we want each and every individual in the building to be treated, and to be treated with the respect that Christ has directed us to give to each and every one. The praying that we do in many classes each and every period before a class starts and our general prayer at the start of the day to start the building off, and our church services that we have each week for the groups, our outward Christian symbols in the various classrooms and gymnasium and some of the symbols that we have that reflect Christianity. . . . and Jesus, make it pretty obvious that we are a little different from the public schools. (vol. 2, p. 6)

When pressed further for other fundamental differences apart from the ones mentioned, he continued:

> Well basically it's the approach that we take that even when we teach religion, it is taught through the view of the [denomination Y] church. So with that we don't try to convert our non-denomination [Y students] but they are very aware of what our positions are on various things. There is also a portion of our faith that each and every student does community service so that in addition to the religion, there is an obligation each semester to do 10 hours of community service which is absolutely for no pay and is of value to whoever it deems necessary. (vol. 2, pp. 6, 7)

Principal Y pointed out that the school was established primarily to meet the needs of the children of the church who need to be educated in a setting where they are free to express their faith. In addition to the academic opportunities that exist in this setting, the exercise of faith is freely practiced and required of all who enter. Even if one does not believe in the same faith experience, he explained, one is expected to show respect and cooperate with the religious activities here. "The one thing that we actually do is introduce them to what their faith is all about. . . . We do an excellent job of

supplementing what is actually taught at home and put the student in a position where he knows what some of the beliefs are that go along with being a member of the faith" (vol. 2, p. 7). All youth must get an understanding of the beliefs of the faith through their relationship with the school. The principal explained that if students never attended church the religious activities of school Y would be sufficient to give them a working understanding and practice of the faith.

The practices of the faith are incorporated progressively into the school curriculum. At the different grade levels certain preparations take place for a total integration of faith and learning. Grade 1 has a preparatory service, Grade 2 and Grade 8 also have special services for students so that by the ninth grade they are ready to take the final step in becoming members of the congregation. "We feel that this is our responsibility and one way in which we have influence over the children" (vol. 2, p. 8). He continued by observing that whatever season of the year or church celebration that is being observed, a similar activity suitable to the setting is conducted at school. All students and teachers are required to attend a worship service at least once each week in the church, which is located on the same premises. This activity is built into the schedule. The two pastors were observed maintaining a visible presence on the campus, not in the classroom necessarily, but in the church, making themselves available for counseling and whatever religious services students and teachers may need.

The principal spoke of the school's commitment to the spiritual life by noting that at the beginning of the school year, the teachers go on a prayer retreat to focus on the direction the school will take for the year. Students have a similar opportunity at which time they discuss their faith and responsibility to the community. Community

service is an integral part of the operational focus of their faith. They are required to assist in soup kitchens, nursing homes, and other community activities of their choice as an expression of their faith. "I think it is important that they go intermingle with some of our community members and I think people look at them in a different light when they actually see them in church being reverent and paying attention" (vol. 2, p. 51). More than anything else, Principal Y would like to see his school portrayed as a Christian environment where learning is taking place and there is also community spirit. "I think that the expectations we have here are strict and I think that cooperation and helping your neighbor and respecting your neighbor are important" (vol. 2, p. 51).

The evidences of religiosity at the institution are clearly visible to anyone who enters the building. The religious symbols and pictures are displayed at strategic locations in the building and act as constant reminders of the integration of faith and learning. The orderliness and quietness of the students as they walk the hallways give the impression that they are in the presence of a supreme being.

The Administrative Setting

The principal is the CEO in the school and he also has responsibility as the superintendent of the building. He pointed out that it is not unusual in that organization to have the building supervised by someone other than the principal. The composition of the administrative and support staff is as follows: administration, 1; counseling, 2; classroom teachers, 22; support staff, 20; total, 45. The gender and ethnic makeup is female, 65%; male, 35%; White, 96%; African American, 4% (vol. 2a, p. 6). The educational level represented includes those with a doctorate, 1; Master's degree, 11;

Bachelor's degree, 13; and the number of years spent at School Y: 10% of the teachers have over 25 years of experience, 50% between 6 and 24 years; 30% between 2 and 5 years, and 10% with 1 year experience.

With an enrolment of 336 students in Grades 7 to 12 and 45 staff members, the school is without a deputy head, which the principal claimed can be a hindrance rather than a support. If the necessity arises for an administrative council to be convened, the principal would require the individuals occupying the following positions to attend: principal (chairman), athletic director, librarian, guidance counselor, curriculum coordinator, administrative assistant, and business manager (vol. 2a, p. 3). Apart from this arrangement, the principal assumes sole responsibility for the running of the institution, with input from the staff at their meetings.

The policy manual for the institution identified the administrative head of the church in the Michigan region as the titular head of the school. He is advised by the two pastors in the churches that operate the school. These pastors appoint the principal and give him the authority to run the school, subject to the approval of the administrative head. In choosing a principal, the pastors confer with an educational commission which they elect to advise on certain technical aspects of the school operations and to use their expertise to obtain the best services for the school. But the final decision rests solely with the two pastors who select the candidate they feel most ably reflects the philosophy, embodies the beliefs of the church, and has the competence to pass on the heritage to the students. The education commission which functions in the local schools gives input into who the final candidates for the position will be, but the persons with the major input are the pastors, assisted by the education superintendent.

The principal explained the complex hierarchical structure as follows: the principal who directly runs the school is accountable to the pastors, who in turn report to the bishop. The bishop appoints superintendents who are responsible for all professional aspects of education as they affect the schools. These superintendents give professional supervision to the school and report directly to the bishop. The educational commission is appointed by the pastors and their responsibility is to the local school.

The principal is accountable to a two-pronged structure, each part of which reports directly to the bishop. He is accountable to the pastors for the technical and administrative operations of the school, and to the superintendent for the professional operations. He relies on the education commission for advice. In the internal operation he functions alone with the help of an administrative assistant who appears very capable, supportive, and committed to the principal and the school, but whose work is basically secretarial in nature.

The members of the "administrative council" identified earlier relate to matters that affect students, the clients to whom this organization caters. Matters that affect the employees are dealt with primarily by the principal in consultation with the pastors. The principal appoints them, renews or terminates their contracts on a yearly basis, determines their pay increases, the type of medical coverage they receive, and numerous other matters which affect the staff. On these matters he only advises the pastors and obtains their approval to proceed with the decisions he makes. He is also responsible for securing the services for the school at the best cost. The principal becomes the link between the school and its public and the external influencers. Consequently, his task is primarily administrative; he does not teach students. On one

visit, however, he was observed substituting for a teacher who had taken some students on a field trip. Because the principal had established certain requirements which these students had not met, they were not allowed to participate in the field trip, and because no other staff member was available to supervise them, he had to do the job himself.

The policy which governs the operation of all schools in the region stipulates "where economically and educationally feasible, all school administrators should be freed from classroom obligations to concentrate on administrative responsibilities" (vol. 2b, #2211.3). If the school has more than seven teachers, these administrators should be free all day from teaching responsibilities. In selecting the school administrator, consideration is given to the individual's adherence to the faith and his/her academic qualifications which should include "a master's degree with at least 20 semester hours of graduate work in professional education with major emphasis in the field of school administration." The individual should also "have had a minimum of three years of successful teaching experience at the secondary level" (vol. 2b, #2211.4). He deals with all matters at the local level and grievances are passed on to the pastors only when he is unable to settle them. If the pastors cannot arbitrate a situation, it then goes to the bishop who applies the church laws in a final settlement. The policy book covers a wide range of matters relating to the administration of the school. This book serves as a guide to the principal, allowing him to deal with most matters at this level.

The Academic and Social Scene

In addition to the religious aspects of the school, the other areas that receive high priority are the academic and social dimensions. This is so because, in addition to

preparing students for college, the school is concerned about their community involvement and interactions with other students. Both the academic and social areas are vibrant in School Y and the school prides itself in its achievements and its potential for continued success in these areas.

Principal Y spoke unhesitatingly about the reasons students do so well academically.

> I think it is the expectation. They are expected to be good students and I think there is not a student in the building who is not capable of doing that. . . . There is a lot of instruction going on in the classrooms. There is lots of work that the students have to do. (vol. 2, p. 29)

He added that there is a great deal of cooperation from parents who are constantly supervising their children's work and keeping in contact with the school. Even those who are not motivated from home have a lot of role models around them working with them towards accomplishing tough goals.

> C's are not looked on as good grades in this building, and that's for my students who come from well-to-do families as well as lower income families. B's and above are where they want their children, so there's a lot of pressure as to students getting the most of their time that they are allotted to be there. (vol. 2, p. 15)

The program of study consists of 10 areas from which students may select courses to complete the requirements for graduation. Four subject areas are required for each of the four years: theology, English, mathematics, and science, with theology being taught every day of the school year. Electives may be chosen from the other areas up to a total of 26 credits. There are four levels of courses to meet the needs and talents of students: (1) honors courses for highly motivated students where instruction is offered at a higher level of cognitive thinking to challenge students to use their analytical and evaluative skills; (2) college preparatory courses to provide a solid background in the

subject area and prepare students for college work; (3) standard courses to provide high-school level study and prepare students for college; and (4) basic courses for students preparing to go directly into the blue-collar work force after graduation (vol. 2a, p. 5). The records in the institution show that the school performs higher than the nation and the state on achievement tests such as the ACT. The scores on the state tests also indicate that the school's academic performance is above average. During the 1994-1995 school year, 83.7% of the students tested met the state objectives in mathematics; 100% met the objectives in reading; and 95.9% met the objectives in science. Principal Y pointed out that guiding this highly motivated student body is a competent faculty, half of whom have graduate degrees and are seriously committed to academic excellence.

The program of the school allows the social aspects to be integrated with the academic areas in a smooth manner.

> There is also a portion of our faith that each and every student needs to do community service so that in addition to the religion, there is an obligation each semester to do 10 hours of community service that is absolutely for no pay and is of value to whoever it deems necessary. There are students who go down and work in the soup kitchen on a particular day, some that work at some of the nursing homes, just a variety of services we provide. We have students who tutor other students at no cost, to help others that are less fortunate and haven't had some of the background of being in our school system full time, and may not have a substantial home life to back them. . . . There's a lot of different things that come into play as we pray before our games and after our games. (vol. 2, p. 7)

Every student is required to participate in some area of the school's social life whether it is community programs or a club, organization, or sports team. Some of the organizations in which students participate are band, choir, drama club, mentoring program, youth-to-youth, National Honor Society, academic challenge team, student council, and student government. There are many sporting activities, including men's and

women's varsity teams in basketball, volleyball, baseball, softball, tennis, golf, and track. "All of these activities fit into the philosophy of the institution and give a sense of community" (vol. 2, p. 50) where individuals interact, respect, and depend on each other for growth and development.

The support of the parents for the school is quite satisfying to the principal. "Our parents are very active in the building" (vol 1, p. 33), and they in turn play a large role in the victories which the school achieved in sports: "We have a blue tie athletic parent association" (vol 1, p. 53), which supports the students' involvement in sports. The principal appears very proud of the school's track record in sports, which is underlined by the pictorial display in the front lobby. He solicits the community's support in the areas where they have interest. "We have an auction which raises about $60,000 for athletics, fine arts, and band. In the past we also ran bingos that produced about $3,000 a month which went to the band and athletics also" (vol. 2, p. 49).

The social activities are structured to compliment the academic life of the students. Principal Y was forthright in his observation that anything, "if it impacts instruction negatively, if it doesn't impact in a positive way, we will not do it" (vol. 2, p. 34).

The Structure and Design of School Y

The school is one of the institutions, including the church, that is administered centrally by the bishop or general overseer of the church in this state. This individual presides over all "the institutions which fall within this region, whether it is church, school, or property" (vol. 2, p. 4). Assisting the bishop in the educational arm of his

work are the superintendent and assistant superintendent" (vol. 2, p. 4) who must work on a lateral basis along with the pastors "who are the ones in charge of the parishes that operate the schools" (vol. 2, p. 5). Both of these groups of individuals relate directly to the bishop and directly to the schools in their professional and administrative roles. The principal answers directly to these individuals as he leads out in the administrative and academic areas of the institution. Between the principal and the pastors is an education commission which "makes sure that the programs we are running within the school system, and the school system itself, are operating in a positive manner" (vol. 2, p. 5).

The bishop directly impacts the school through the policies which govern the institution.

> We have policies that cover everything, church policies and they are very similar to public school policies. The church establishes things that are correct, the school board establish things that relate directly to the operation, but always in cooperation with the church ones, so that it doesn't take away from that, then I come up with my handbook for students and teachers that tries to explain what these policies really are. I can modify their interpretation, I can't really modify the policies themselves. . . . I am the one who has to live with them, so if I come up with the wrong interpretation, I would have people in here to see me, but I think that operating within the guidelines are what we would try to do. They [the policies] limit, but they are helpful. They really don't limit in a negative way, they establish sound procedures. I think everyone wants to know what their limitations are and try to work within the limit. That's pretty much how I try to work with staff and students, within the guidelines, for they actually are a guide as to how we operate; and we hope from there that people that we have in teaching and leadership roles will use their skills to enhance what we have here. (vol. 2, p. 24)

The individuals within the system who ensure that the school operates within the guidelines of church policies are the superintendent of schools and the local pastors. The superintendent and his/her assistant are people the bishop selects (vol. 2, p. 4). They attend to such matters as "legal issues, directions in teaching, and textbook selection"

(vol. 2, p. 4). Principal Y noted that he needs to confer with the superintendent of schools since

> they work in the educational aspect as far as teacher evaluation, disciplinary situations with staff, extreme disciplinary situations with students, the general operation of the building, more when you're having problems and less when you are not. There are some things they want to do that are consistent throughout the state, so they try to do things in that regard. (vol. 2, p. 13)

Principal Y observed unapologetically that the school was established as a denomination Y school. He described it as a

> church school that is run in particular by the pastors, with me under their direction, in which we also have an education commission which is an advisory board for myself and a clearing house for the pastors when situations come up (vol. 2, p. 1)

There are two pastors who work together as the final decision makers at the local level. They "make final decisions on personnel" (vol. 2, p. 3), "relate directly to the bishop" (vol. 2, p. 5), "establish guidelines for admission and expulsion" (vol. 2, p. 12), determine who becomes head of the school (vol. 2, p. 9), and appoint the members of the education commission or advisory board (vol. 2, p. 6).

The school does not have a governing board; instead it has an education commission made up of parish and community members who are members of the church (vol. 2, p. 46) and have skills related to the daily operations of the school.

> We have some people that are engineers that are on the commission, that deal with some of the building problems that come up. We have some financial people that are bankers, and what not. The commission has nine members and they vary in their expertise and they are selected by the pastors because of their expertise in a particular field. None of the present members are elected at this point so that basically they are there to make sure that we operate in a businesslike manner, and that when we do pay for services, that the services we are buying are things that we need and that we are doing it without wasting any money. (vol. 2, p. 3)

The principal feels that the system of selecting members of the commission is actually more beneficial to the school:

> Previous to my coming the board was elected. Since that point the pastors now appoint, and that is universal throughout the [denomination Y] school system. We took away the idea that since I am elected, I am in control and moved to the idea that now that I am a commission member, I have something that I can give back to the school that the school might not otherwise be able to afford. (vol. 2, p. 12)

This situation works best for the school since previously when members were elected they caused problems when "they overstepped their bounds by coming into the school" and "being negative about something that you try or they go around you rather than going through you" (vol. 2, p. 11).

> I have made mistakes, but I need to be told about the mistakes, as opposed to being threatened with the mistakes, and that happens sometimes. Once you start to think that way, then your leadership abilities are diminished because generally they spread them out to faculty members and then get division as opposed to having team work, a cooperative working environment. (vol. 2, p. 11)

The principal does not depend on the commission to review or validate his work since he does not report to them.

> I get my authority from the church, which went through a tedious process to grant me that authority to do the things that are necessary to run this building. In particular, they told me that I am not only acting as the principal but also as the superintendent of the building, so that my duties are all-encompassing as opposed to limited to daily operations. (vol. 2, p. 15)

His immediate superiors are the pastors and the superintendent; the commission's function is mainly advisory. The work they do, however, is crucial to the smooth running of the school. "The education commission makes sure that the program we are running within the school and the school itself are operating in a positive manner. They divide up into different committees from PR, finance, building, and grounds" (vol. 2, p. 5). The principal in turn also advises the commission "on some of the church policies, and how

they relate to our individual parish policies, so that when we do our own policies, they don't supersede what the bishop has already established as necessary" (vol. 2, p. 6).

Principal Y consults with the pastors on a regular basis, and finds ways to get them to defer to his decision. "They still want me to be comfortable with it because if I don't feel comfortable they are not going to force it upon me" (vol. 2, p. 12). The day-to-day operation of the school is his sole responsibility.

> I am ultimately in charge. I do consult with other principals from other [denomination Y] schools and with some of my colleagues in the public system, but I try to look at things over a longer period of time, building solid relationships and making decisions that are based on good sensible solutions. (vol. 2, p. 46)

However, the A to Z of the principal's job is outlined in the policy worksheet. The Administrative Regulations Worksheet gives guidelines in hiring, renewing contracts, and other specified tasks. For example, it states that "the administrator with the consent of the pastor representative shall hire the teaching personnel" (vol. 2c, #4111). "The administrator may be terminated for failure to support or exemplify [denomination Y] doctrine and morality as indicated in church law" (vol. 2c, #4112.5).

The school is structured primarily for the youth of the church (denomination Y). Consequently, priority in registering is given to the students who are currently enrolled, whose accounts are current, and who are live in a parish whose members are subsidizing their youngsters' education. The churches are required to contribute a monthly sum to support the school.

> Probably close to 70% of all our students who are [denomination Y] come to this school. The church is very big on supporting. About half our tuition necessary to operate comes from the parishes, so they have a substantial contribution to try to keep tuition prices at a reasonable level and they offset that every year with their donations to the building. (vol. 2, p. 2)

The student body is 81% denomination Y and 19% non-denomination Y.

Ideology and Control

School Y stakes its claim to providing Christian education stating that it strives to prepare students to develop their abilities and talents for the service of God and the betterment of humanity. The school exists

> to provide a uniquely [denominational Y] educational experience for the mutual benefit of its students and their parents, its parish sponsors and the community of which it is a part. The school states that it is dedicated to a teaching ministry which embraces the four dimensions of [denomination Y] education: "message, community, service, and worship, and which combines its educational programs with [denomination Y] principles (vol. 2d, p. 2).

The school is committed "to encourage and enhance great teaching and learning, in a way that will help each student realize his or her God-given potential in a [denomination Y] values-oriented atmosphere and a climate of high expectations conducive to learning" (vol. 2a, p. 2). Part of the belief, also stated in the mission statement, is that Christian service is needed.

> We actually have a list of things that are acceptable, everything from working for a soup kitchen to going to the nursing home or hospital, or tutoring some elementary kids, working with them in day care, and what not. We have students that work in a church school program in the summer, and just a variety of things that help people. Being actively involved as a productive member of your community is really important. (vol. 2, p. 32)

In the denomination Y faith, it is the belief that

> the school is an extension of the church and so the policies we follow here are very much in cooperation with the policies that are established through the church. One of the big parts of being a [denomination Y] school is the religious experience that goes along with it, which is quite a bit different from public school. (vol. 2, p. 2)

The religious beliefs emphasize the social experience to a large degree, to the extent that much emphasis is placed on community activities and interpersonal relationships:

> In our teaching here Christian values are emphasized throughout the day; treating each other fairly, equally, regardless of race, creed, color, whatever, is a value that we adhere to and try to live up to. Having Christlike values is a big part of the fact that everyone needs to belong to the family here. We are just an extension of the church family that meets on Sunday. We have a system that's set up so that everyone needs to treat each and every one friendly, and they need to do it cooperatively, and they need to do it in a fashion that just doesn't demean or do disservice to the individual. (vol. 2, p. 2)

The almost omnipresent religious experience is reinforced through the activities which are mandated and practiced.

> Each year I have goals that are set up for the building, but we try to go and work on different factors in faith development throughout the years and we change topic areas also. Each one of our classes goes on a retreat, along with our staff also going on a staff retreat, all to get closer to God and try to follow the leadership that He gives us and the direction He wants us to go for the year and in our endeavors here in school. (vol. 2, p. 2)

These endeavors include the religious rites which are conducted by the principal during daily assembly and a weekly worship service which the pastor conducts.

In one such service for the graduating seniors, I observed the students and teachers as they marched quietly from the school to the church. They all made the appropriate religious gestures to indicate their outward awareness of where they were. After the sermon, given by the pastor, the students who received awards took them to the altar where they were consecrated by the pastor in the presence of the principal. During the service the principal sat conspicuously at the rear of the church where he could observe all that was taking place, and the teachers all sat with the students.

The expected behavior from teachers, staff, and students is clearly outlined in documents which are given to each group upon entry into the school family. The students are given a 'family handbook' which is revised annually and contains the expectations of the school for them and their parents/guardians. The teachers are also

given the policy book, which outlines the governance of the institution, their relationship to it, and the standard of conduct that is expected of them. The policies are decreed by the head of the church in the region, and they are irrevocable except as they are amended under the same signator or his successor (vol. 2c).

Control of Teachers

One of the foremost considerations in employing teachers at school Y is the matter of their faith commitment. Principal Y pointed out that there is some flexibility, however, in this approach. "We have [non-denomination Y] staff here now, but if you are [denomination Y] it is a big benefit (vol. 2, p. 37). Principal Y is not keen on having teachers who will question the beliefs and values of the church. That explains why more than 80% of the staff are practicing members of the faith. "Our values are pretty well set in stone and teachers that are [non-denomination Y] try not to do anything to offend anyone because everything that we do here is in a Christian way" (vol. 2, p. 38).

Anyone who dared to challenge the beliefs practiced in the school would be questioned. "I would have to consult with the pastors as to how to deal with it, especially if they were a [denomination Y] member. From that we would have some hard decisions to make" (vol. 2, p. 38). To avoid such a confrontation, the school takes pre-emptive measures to orient all new teachers in their role in fulfilling the mission of the school.

> Basically we try to hook them up with another staff member who serves as mentor. So basically we serve as mentors for them and through the mentoring process, we go through things that are important. One of the requirements we have is that they go to church service every two weeks, as part of our regular curriculum, so with that we try to indoctrinate them in the Christian aspects and in worship. (vol. 2, p. 37)

One of the incentives for teachers to comply with school policies and to cooperate closely with the principal is the matter of their contract, which, to a large extent, is dependant on the discretion of the principal.

> Renewal or non-renewal of teacher contracts rests with the local school administrator. The local school administrator expressly reserves the right not to renew the contract at the end of the contract year. If I don't renew their contract they are not retained and it is not based on anything else other than that. There is no tenure in the building. If I deem they are unacceptable they will not return. (vol. 2, p. 37)

Provisions are made in the policy for termination of contracts during the contract period. Among the reasons given are inefficiency, incompetency, insubordination, and misconduct. Misconduct is explained as "conduct unbecoming a teacher within the [denomination Y] school, or failure to support and exemplify [denomination Y] doctrine and morality as described in church policies" (vol. 2b, #4112.7). If, on the other hand, the contract is terminated by the teacher during the course of the school year, the following will result: (1) "such violation shall be noted on any request for recommendations to other potential employers, and (2) all credits for previous service forfeited" (vol. 2b, #4112.7).

The teachers are evaluated on a continuing basis, and this is supposed to be both thorough and objective. The principal again serves as the primary evaluator of teacher performance and "shall be responsible for submitting an annual evaluation report of the teacher to the superintendent of the schools in the District" (vol. 2b, #4117). The primary areas in which the teacher is evaluated include the following: "(a) professional competence in the classroom, (b) interest exhibited in student activities, (c) efforts to build a [denomination Y] community of faith, (d) serving as an exemplary adult model to

students, (e) cooperation with the principal and staff in attaining the objectives of the school" (vol. 2b, #4117).

One of the ways in which teachers are expected to cooperate with the principal is to comply with his request to participate "in a Church renewal study in order to remain knowledgeable about the current teachings of the church" (vol. 2b, #4131). This knowledge, however, does not qualify a teacher to conduct religious instruction or teach religion classes. Such a teacher must have "a minimum of a [denomination Y] Theology/Religious Education minor in curricular studies, with it being desirable that they are in possession of a bachelor's and/or master's degree" (vol. 2c, p. 2). The principal confirmed that he adheres very strictly to these requirements since they have implications for the transmission of the church's beliefs and heritage. In addition, only denomination Y teachers can conduct instruction in denomination Y religion.

> Should a [non-denomination Y] teacher be responsible for a particular class (i.e., self-contained classroom), a transfer of class assignment for that period or a substitute shall be provided. The above should not be construed as saying [non-denomination Y] instructional staff cannot share in the promotion of [denomination Y] values and ideals. It only seeks to assure that personnel of the [denomination Y] faith instruct [denomination Y] religion classes. (vol. 2c, p. 3)

Control of Students

The underlying motive behind any attempt to get students to conform with the rules and regulations of school Y is really to "develop their abilities and talents for the service of God, humankind, and the betterment of self" (vol. 2a, p. 1). The priority in admissions is given to students who are members of the church; any other available space is opened to non-denomination Y youngsters. The following registration procedure is followed:

> 1. The parent of the students must obtain and complete an application for enrollment and return it to the Principal's office.
> 2. The Principal will conduct an admittance conference with both parents or guardian(s) and the student. The purpose and objectives of the school will be explained to the prospective applicant. All enrolled will be conditionally accepted for a probationary period of one semester.
> 3. Registration with the business office will follow the conference with the principal. (vol. 2a, p. 5)

Upon admission, the parent and student receive the Family Handbook which is a 42-page document containing all that the student and parents/guardians need to know, and the code of conduct which governs the student's behavior as a member of this academic/faith community.

One of the first things that students become aware of is that it is mandatory to "take a religion class each and every day that they are here in addition to church services and different activities that take place during the course of the school year" (vol. 2, p. 2). There are other sensitive areas which the school approaches very selectively, such as sex education, pre-marital sex, and abortion. These areas are taught

> in our religion classes as how [denomination Y] looks at those things, as opposed to other Christian churches. . . . I find teachers who are experienced and understand these areas well and to bring it across, in a manner that is positive. . . . If we don't take a stance the students are going to hear it on MTV or on one of the programs that's on TV, but it's not the real world and so with that, we attack their minds so that they have to think about things as opposed to assuming that what they see or hear on TV or radio is correct. (vol. 2, p. 39)

Participation in the religious life of the school is not optional.

> Part of the contract that people sign when they come here is the fact that they will attend all our services, so with that they know that's just the requirement for everyone. . . . We don't try to convert anyone although we do have some who do convert, but a very few. (Vol. 2, p. 50)

Principal Y pointed out that he has increased the number of services students attend, because he thought it important that they mingle with community members, and be

reverent and pay attention in church (vol. 2, p. 51).

The school established its code of conduct for students because it "is a community dedicated to Christ where Christianity is learned through living in that very community" and it provides a "frame work to help students develop a sense of self-discipline" (vol. 2a, p. 8). The basic expectations for student behavior and disciplining consequences are outlined in the information given to them entitled "Disciplinary Policies." This information contains 30 reasons for which disciplinary actions may be imposed, including refusal to comply with uniform dress code, public show of affection between students, fighting, unauthorized presence in corridors during lunch periods, and between or during classes, among others (vol. 2a, pp 9 - 11).

The types of punishment students may receive for these infractions include detention, disciplinary probation, suspension, and expulsion. Detention is administered by the classroom teacher, but more severe forms of punishment are given by the principal who retains "the right and privilege to issue penalties for acts of discipline infringement even beyond what is stated in the policies or alter penalties as he deems necessary" (vol. 2a, p. 11). Suspension temporarily withdraws a student from the privilege of attending school. "Sponsors of athletics and every other extra and co-curricular activity are not permitted to let any student on suspension attend or participate in any school related activity or event" (vol. 2a, p. 9). Students involved in the school's successful athletics program or in the band, which tours regularly, would be motivated to avoid suspensions. Expulsion dismisses the student totally from the school. This action is administered by the principal. The student may appeal to the commission or board, but the decision of the principal is usually upheld.

The Power of the Principal

The system that Principal Y operates under gives him much autonomy and discretionary power. He is not answerable to a board. The school's Education Commission's function is advisory. The superintendent gives professional supervision, and he confers with the pastors who have appointed him and assigned him the authority to administer the school program. He likes the idea of functioning autonomously.

> I know that you can't operate a program unless they give you the freedom to make good choices for the kind of things that you need to do to keep your program educationally sound, and with that you can't have eight people giving you directions. (vol. 2, p. 10)

He is not concerned with the local boards or even the pastors who hire him. He is more concerned about the source of his power and whether his actions are validated by that individual who is the titular head of the school and the head of the church in the region. "He is the one who validates it [my authority]; as a matter of fact he is the final validator of everything I do" (vol. 2, p. 15).

Principal Y seems to be well aware of the scope of his job and the responsibilities attached. He sees himself as the individual who charts the direction for the institution.

> The direction that I come from is a determining factor in how students and teachers perceive that they should go about their daily tasks in the building. It is my job to make sure that everyone is well aware of what my expectations are, as to what good instruction is, what a [denomination Y] environment is, and also what results should come from good instruction. I think that the things that I do and the example I set should be a model for students and teachers. I am not traditional in the fact that an administrator sits behind his desk the whole day. When needed, I have no fear of going into the classroom, taking over what instruction is going on and carrying through in the best fashion. (vol. 2, p. 15)

The principal recognizes that it is his responsibility to make individuals aware

of the things which are done in the school, why they are done, and how they need to relate to beliefs and his interpretation of how they need to react to such beliefs.

> I deal with quite a lot of students who are having problems in one-on-one situations. I would bring up the reference in what is the Christian way of doing things, especially when sometimes there's a lot of frustration that leads to other problems. The one thing I know with Jesus, is that He wouldn't reject anyone, and so with that, I have to work with staff so as not to reject anyone even though they may be the biggest pain in the grey area that they have. And so it is my job to work through things either among staff, or between staff and parents, between parents and teachers, between parents and their own children, and between students and staff. Jesus didn't condemn anyone, but it is not that He did not get loud with people when He found them in the temple doing things that were not appropriate. I still have that example to follow also, that it is occasionally appropriate to go off on folks when they are doing things that are inappropriate. I did that this morning with two individuals with ignorant behavior that should not have been in the school and they both know that it wasn't tolerable. But that's not the character that I try to portray. I think that being 235 pounds and six feet tall, I don't have the problem that someone who is five foot and 100 pounds, in terms of power and getting authority across. So I do try to talk to people and get them to communicate in a way that will make positive changes. (vol. 2, pp. 44, 45)

Principal Y advanced the idea that he is not just the administrator of the school but also "the education leader for the building" (vol. 2, p. 6). He pilots the school in the direction it should go and claims to "utilize the staff to the fullest to guarantee success" (vol. 2, p. 6). He continued:

> I oversee quite a bit and it's very much a truly site-based management situation, because everything that comes up, I'm responsible for. So with that I do all the purchasing, bid letting, recruiting volunteers to do some work when the bid comes in too high, and also trying to make sure that the educational environment that we have here is as conducive as it possibly can be. (vol. 2, p. 6)

In making this environment conducive to learning, he feels that he must have the right complement of staff in place. This, of course, does not include a vice principal, an idea he opposes. "If they are doing things the way I would like them done then they are very effective. If they are not doing things the way I'd like to get them done, then

they are not as effective, and then that's when we have some problems" (vol. 2, p. 19). The teachers are expected to work within the framework of the school's policy and the general professional guidelines. Their annual evaluation by the principal is based on such factors. "I make the evaluation, and I make the recommendation at that point as to whether someone is rehired or not, and regraded or not. So in this system it is solely the principal who has that entire responsibility" (vol. 2, p. 21).

He complimented the staff for being a good working team. "I do have many people who are worried more about team concepts as opposed to individual concepts" (vol. 2, p. 27). The main concern from staff is that the philosophy of the school be integrated into the teaching. This he enforces by requiring strict compliance with the curriculum. "Our curriculum is in a guide that's not in stone, but almost, as to the things that are necessary for students to have success after they leave here." (vol. 2, p. 27). He noted that the stability of the staff makes it easier to run a smooth program. New teachers are given

> an understanding of where we need to get from August 26 to June 7, and that the instructional time period we have them [the students] for is very limited and it is interrupted for various things. . . . It has to be used wisely, and we do have to concentrate on some student-initiated projects, and further study in order to keep moving at the pace that we need to move at. (vol. 2, p. 27)

The relationship between performance and reward is crucial to achievement of goals. Principal Y outlined his approach to rewards and the attendant reasons.

> I don't have recognition services; I generally have luncheons and dinners where I thank everyone, because basically if you thank one, you are singling them out and making them more important than everyone else. Research will tell us that basically you need to thank everyone as being team players and each having a distinct part of the pie, you get more of a family atmosphere. (vol. 2, p. 28)

Salary increases for staff, Principal Y said, are based on the increased enrollment and

contribution from the churches. For the next academic year the staff will "probably get an actual 4% raise, with a percentage of the raise (actually about 2%) going into insurance benefits" (vol. 2, p. 47). This increase he noted is occurring after years of deficit budget, but with the new trend indicating steady increases in enrollment, the staff stands to benefit with increased salary.

As Principal Y unfolded his plan, he indicated that he determined annually which area of the curriculum will be singled out in a given year for upgrading and purchasing equipment. "Next year, Social Studies will have all the new textbooks, and they will have software that comes along with that program. And we'll try to do some science next year, but science is so expensive, that I'll have to do it over probably 3 years" (vol. 2, p. 47)

The overall approach that the principal adopts in administering the school ultimately affects his main stakeholders, the students, since it is for them that the school was established, and all the policies and programs are intended to deliver an educational package which will benefit them. He spends far less time with the students than the classroom teachers, coaches, and staff, yet he commands much respect as the authority figure and final source of arbitration. He allows and disallows to a great extent what transpires in the institution and has expectations of them, which he expects to be realized. "The demands on students -- and their participation in programs in our building -- are a little more stringent than in the public schools" (vol. 2, p. 8). They are expected to fulfill those demands, otherwise the consequences could be detention, suspension, and/or expulsion.

I am very big on making sure that there is interaction between the counselors,

> myself, and instructors in the building when we do have students that have problems. And when we do have problems it is important that we bring the parents in directly, that they are aware of it. My mission here is not to put students out, my mission here is to make students better, when they leave us, and with that there are adjustments that have to be made with some of the behaviors in some of the students. (vol. 2, p. 30)

Leading by What Authority

Principal Y readily placed the source of his power to function as residing in the church and its delegated leader, he being a servant of the organization to carry out its mandates. As long as he operates within the given guidelines, he does not have to report to anyone but the pastors who work closely with him and who validate his work. "I think every building needs a leader on the flow chart, it should show that way so that you do have someone to fall back on. It is my job to orchestrate everything that goes on" (vol. 2, p. 43).

Principal Y observed that he has the example of Jesus to follow, and that serves as a frame of reference for building his authority both to discipline others and to help them. "A lot of times I try to provide students and teachers with other options that will help to alleviate situations rather than lead to more chaos" (vol. 2, p. 45). He sees himself as using power in a helping way.

Another source of Principal Y's authority to lead the school is vested in what he referred to as his training in other settings as well as his formal academic preparation. He holds a master's degree in education. Additionally,

> I think my role as a leader has come through bits and pieces from other administrators that I have worked with. I try to take some of the qualities that I thought were positive and had positive impact on staff and students, probably from a combination of five or six different people, that I saw some of the things they did and easily incorporated them into the way that I operate. (vol. 2, p. 44)

His experience and exposure help him to determine the needs of the building and guide the program in a way that will elicit respect from his colleagues.

> It is my function to make sure that the staff is operating and give them time lines as to when things are to be completed. I do meet with them periodically to find out where we are and where we are going. The establishment of goals is crucial, because those goals will drive the building for the next 3 years. (vol. 2, p. 17)

There are some areas of the school's program which he sees as his portfolio, and not to be delegated.

> I deal with all personnel matters and they are strictly confidential. A lot of student problems which may or may not have an effect on their peers at school are held in my confidence, and some of the financial things that we go through, what salaries are paid to people, and so on. (vol. 2, p. 17)

Principal Y claims that the power which he has causes him to reflect seriously and draw on his value system to remain an honest, Christian leader. In fact, it seems that the system's design can only tolerate a Christian individual. Because of the freedom he has to run the school, he purports to depend on his referent power to prevent him from abusing his position and using the school's resources to his own benefit:

> When you have the power that I have in a building like this, there's no one over me, and if I say it goes, it goes, so that if I didn't have values, I could be a deterrent to the system. The fact is that's not the way I am, and part of the reason is that when they were hiring me they knew what they were hiring, but with the abuse of power, I could demand things of the business manager who technically could bring things up but can't question anything I do. She has no power to question me, period. Staff has no power to question me because if I say that's the way it is, that's the way it is. That is the type of operation we have. There are a lot of things I can do, and people have done that in the past. It is there that when you are put in that position, there are a lot of privileges. When I told you before that I decided what I want to do, where I want to go, that's exactly what I can do to other people if I want to, so I could be unscrupulous if I wanted to do it. (vol. 2, p. 44)

When asked if he were to mismanage the school, how could he be brought to accountability, he responded, "If that occurred, the superintendent would come down to

assess the situation and make recommendations, or one of the pastors would call me into their office to tell me what they think the problem is and give me time to correct it." (vol. 2, p. 42). "How would they find out?" He responded, "It depends on the situation. If it were mismanagement of money, the business office would say something to them. She has a responsibility to the pastors. In the system there's a lot of politics. Obviously someone would not hesitate to go around me if they thought that there was something wrong" (vol. 2, p. 42).

Distributing Influence

The single most influential individual in School Y is the principal. He occupies the central position in the institution and controls the flow of activities inside and outside of the school to a large extent. He reports to the parents, Education Commission Board, the pastors, and the superintendent as the external stakeholders on the one hand, and on the other, he reports to the staff and students as the internal stakeholders. He defined his relationship with these individuals in this way: "I think my main area of expertise is dealing with people and communicating with people what I expect of them and being a leader through example" (vol. 2, p. 43).

Principal Y determines the quality and quantity of information that is disseminated to all parties in the institution. The policy determines the structure and function of the board, but he determines issues to be discussed. "Our board is basically set up with people who have expertise in other fields, and they report to the board as I report, but there are no students who are members of the board." When asked his role in setting the agenda for the meetings, he responded, "We just have a format, and with that

format I have time on the board to discuss anything that I need to discuss" (vol. 2, p. 45). This structured format fits well into the operations since the board does not act on administrative decisions, but gives of their expertise to advise the principal in decision making. He communicates to them only what is necessary to assist in their functions.

The principal communicates to the staff the information that he thinks is necessary for them at the staff meeting, which he conducts. This information would have already been discussed with the board and the pastors.

> Generally I go over [with the staff] what the direction is, and the direction the building is moving. In a building like this, questions are rampant about what our enrollment is projected to be for the next year, job security, and things of that nature. (vol. 2, p. 19).

He noted that attempts are made to keep the staff satisfied. "I think our school has progressed; we have a history of achievement here and I think some people like the atmosphere that we have here; it's a very conducive atmosphere" (vol. 2, p. 19). The fact that most of the teachers are members of the church and attend one of the three congregations which support the church, and therefore have easy access to the pastors (see vol. 2, p. 42), is an incentive for the principal to keep them satisfied and work closely with him.

He adopts a similar approach in relating to parents.

> In the past the administrators of this building had not communicated with parents and that is probably one of the things I am a little more different in is the fact that I talk with parents. When they have concerns I hear them regardless of whether they are valid or not, but I do hear where they are coming from. (vol. 2, p. 49)

He serves as the filter to determine what information gets out from the school to the parents and community at large.

Most of the information that gets out to parents is circulated by me. There are

> things I don't send out because they don't need to go out. Most of my staff members wouldn't send anything home without going through me, and if it were controversial they would bring it to my attention. (vol. 2, p. 43)

One of the ways in which Principal Y endears himself to his students is by building their self-esteem and recognizing their good efforts. He observed that about 60% of the students in a given marking period receive recognition for academic achievement and have their names placed on the bulletin board. Those who did not make that level, he recognizes in other ways.

> Some of the improvements they have made, some of the changes they have made, acts of kindness they have performed toward their fellow students. We try to get a different system of how we can recognize them so that they can have a good feeling about themselves and their position here in school. . . . They may be close, too, but it is difficult to make the honor roll, and we want to recognize as many as we can. Most of my athletes get recognized pretty much through athletics, so I don't deal with that too much at all, but for students that are doing what they need to do, and improving socially, and academically, I think it is important. (vol. 2, p. 34)

The open line of communication with parents works well for Principal Y, who enlists their cooperation in communicating the school's expectations of their children, who in turn serve as role models to other students.

> It makes it a lot easier for peers to work together towards tough goals while everyone is working towards it. Once you get everyone knowing what is to be done, there is a lot of pressure for students to do well. (vol. 2, p. 30)

He thinks that with the constant reminders of expectations both at home and school, students are bound to internalize the values which will influence their lives. Principal Y observed that even if "there's a topic in our student newspaper that is controversial, the advisor brings it down also for discussion, and if there are things that are touchy, sometimes we allow it, but I have the right of first refusal" (vol. 2, p. 43).

Principal Y thinks it is essential to obtain the cooperation of parents, pastors,

and parishioners in creating the school environment that will allow him to maximize the way he impacts the students in realizing the mission of the organization. He thinks he can influence the students best when he has a

> Christian environment where learning is taking place and also community spirit. I think that the expectations we have here are strict and I think that cooperation and helping and respecting your neighbors are important. I think that we try to deal with our students in a way that gives them an opportunity to go out and help others when they leave. (vol. 2, p. 51)

The churches in the school district are required to make their financial contribution to the school.

> The pastors have a big say; the pastors are the ones who rule the parish and have the final decision anyway. They pay a percentage of the tuition of each student who attends the school, that is a member of their parish. This comes up to 50% of the cost for a parish student. (vol. 2, p. 49)

Students who benefit from this package are required to fulfill certain obligations to the church.

> You have to be actively participating in a parish. It's not just going to church on a regular basis. It is participating in the services and the extra things that make church special: the activities, the picnics, the recognition dinners, and doing things like day care where they watch children, and trying to do things that bring on the spirit of community. For those that are in those situations, they get a good portion of their tuition paid. (vol. 2, p. 49)

This incentive is quite attractive, when a student may earn as much as $2,100 in a given year to cover tuition cost by simply attending and participating in church activities. In fact, non-denomination Y students have benefited from this program by simply becoming members of the church.

Summary

This chapter described the setting of the second case study and looked at the

way power is used in this institution. Frequently the term authority is used because the participant felt that seemed less threatening, and since authority connotes a legitimization of power.

School Y is unequivocally designed as a religious institution where the children of the church can receive their education in an environment where it is safe to practice their faith. It is administered by a principal, chosen by the two pastors who run the parishes that operate the school. The pastors in turn are answerable to a single individual who is at the next higher level, and who is the individual to whom they must relate regarding matters beyond their control. At the local level there is no board in place with plenary powers to conduct business on behalf of the school.

The principal is expected to be, and in this case is, a member of the church. The majority of the teachers are also members of the church, a few being non-members, but they must sign contracts which require them to be in conformity with the principles of the church. Such teachers are not allowed to teach subjects which directly transmit aspects of the church's practice and belief. Students who are not members of the church are also required to conform to such principles of the church as practiced through the school. These students are also required to pay higher tuition rates, as they are not subsidized by the church.

In the structure of this school, the principal is granted almost absolute powers to operate once he is installed. There is no governing board to which he is answerable, since the board serves in an advisory capacity. He confers with the pastors on administrative issues which require external input, and with the superintendent on professional and academic matters. The principal determines the makeup of the staff,

who is hired and fired by him, and he guides the direction which the school pursues. Naturally it is in his best interest to guide it along the path of fulfilling its mission, which he does with the help of his staff and the support of the parents and parishioners.

The school is driven by the need to accomplish its mission. The stated purpose of the institution is to train God-fearing youngsters who are committed to God and community. To reinforce this, the religious structure is firmly in place and requires adherence. Students, and in particular those who receive financial assistance for tuition, are also expected to participate in community services as part of the school's philosophy. There is no exception to these requirements.

By virtue of his position, the principal has tremendous influence on the school as a whole. He generates the discussions and monitors the direction they take with his two-member administrative board. He keeps his public informed to the extent that they should be in order to obtain their support. And by virtue of the resources which flow from his office, he is able to gain the respect of his staff.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF POWER IN SCHOOL Z

Introduction

This chapter is the last of three case study reports on the use of power as observed in its natural setting. This school is also a religious institution owned and operated by what is referred to in this study as denomination Z. The school is identified as School Z and the principal as Principal Z. As indicated previously, this is in keeping with the principles of naturalistic research where the participants are granted anonymity.

School Z has its peculiarities and also similarities with the other institutions, but the analysis is done along similar categorical groupings and the findings will delineate the extent of these differences and similarities. The principal is the primary subject for interviews, who, along with observation notes and documents obtained from the institution, serves as the source of information for this case study.

School Z--The Setting

School Z is described as the secondary Christian education extension of the 10 denomination Z congregations in Michigan which formed an Association for the primary purpose of founding a high school to give their children the benefit of education in a setting which is conducive to their beliefs and practice. At the time the research was being conducted, School Z was in a celebration mood, giving thanks to God for "25 years

of God's Grace and Blessing" (vol. 36, p. 1) since it was established at its present location. In actuality the desire for a denomination Z high school in this area of Michigan began to develop over 50 years ago, but it was not until March 1968 that 6 of the 10 congregations which now run the school met at an exploration meeting where the pastors appointed a committee for the purpose of establishing a denomination Z high school. This committee adopted a constitution and, by the end of June 1968, they had put in place a Board of Regents that would have the responsibility of running the school (vol. 3, p. 2).

Land was soon acquired in an area centrally located to all the churches concerned, and while the Association was soliciting funds from its members, the Board of Regents had part of the teachers in place for the 16 students who had enrolled for classes in the fall of 1970. Classes were housed in the educational wing of one of the churches until April 1973 when the present structure was completed. The school building comprises 40,000 sq. ft. and occupies 40 acres of land.

The structure is an L-shaped building which houses the administrative offices, classrooms, laboratory, library, cafeteria, and gymnasium, which serves as a multipurpose facility. The lobby area at the entrance of the building bears religious symbols and emblems, indicating the purpose and mission of the institution. From this central area one has access to the administrative offices, the classrooms, and the gymnasium. The school secretary oversees the administrative offices and gives access to whomever wishes to enter. In this section of the school are the offices of the principal, vice-principal, treasurer, and the staff room where the teachers gather. When they are not teaching,

teachers are usually in the staff room, since all the classrooms are assigned for instruction at every hour of the day.

This senior high school currently has 148 students enrolled, 17 of whom are not members of the church. The school purports to "admit students of any race, color, national, or ethnic origin to all rights, privileges, programs, and activities generally accorded or made available to students of the school" (vol. 3d, p. 1). The mission statement indicates that it "exists to provide a Christ-centered confessionally [denomination Z] education to prepare young adults to serve as disciples of Jesus" (vol. 3a, p. 1). Thus, in addition to its academic, social, and physical focus, it emphasizes a strong religious aspect which is built not only into the program itself but also into the physical setting. A typical example of this is the prayer garden that is available to staff and students for quiet reflection and meditation. This area has seats, a cross, and appropriate Scripture passages engraved in stone to aid spiritual reflection. At the front of the building is a large cross over the entrance, which proclaims boldly the type of educational institution it represents.

The building itself is located in a serene setting away from the major highways and approximately 100 meters from the street. The sign at the entrance identifies the school, its type, and affiliation. Between the public street and the building is a well-manicured lawn and a parking lot for faculty, staff, students, and visitors. At the rear of the building are the soccer field, football field, and baseball and softball field. These serve as the physical facilities "to train the youth in the wisdom and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as revealed in the Scriptures" (vol. 1a, p. 2).

The stated purpose for this school's existence is clearly documented as follows:

> To train youth in the wisdom and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as revealed in the scriptures to offer a Christian atmosphere in which school youth can mature in Christian faith to fully develop the God-given abilities of high school age youth to instruct future Christian leaders for congregations and families to equip youth with the ability and desire to reach out and win other souls for Christ to enable youth to enter college for further instruction
>
> To enable youth to later lead God-pleasing lives as mature Christians
> To enable youth to stand before the Lord on the last day confident in the knowledge that their sins have been paid for by Jesus our Savior. (vol. 3a, p. 2)

The Religious Climate

School Z exists "as an arm of the Christian Church, with its primary purpose to assist our high school age youth to grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ" (vol. 3f, p. 1). Principal Z eagerly pointed out that what makes School Z truly a Christian school is that "Christ is the center of all education and activities. He is the unseen student in every class and the unseen participant at every activity. A Christian atmosphere is present throughout the school day" (vol. 3a, p. 3).

The document which introduces School Z to the public states that, among other things, the school is considered religious because students are required to

> attend a chapel devotion every school day. The instructors at School Z are Christian teachers prepared to teach in Christian secondary schools of denomination Z. All students are required to take a religion course designed to further their study in God's Word. (vol. 3a, p. 3)

Additional information on the religious activities is provided for students in their handbook. Their chapel requirement states that "devotional services are held each morning throughout the school year. Every student must attend these services.

Participation in this worship service is expected" (vol. 3b, p. 6). I observed students in chapel and noticed the orderly manner in which they entered the chapel area and sat quietly throughout. They dutifully participated in singing and praying, and attentively listened to the homily given by the teacher assigned. It was not until after the chapel exercise that students were heard conversing , and even so with controlled tones. The daily exercises are held in a section of the gymnasium on the platform which is screened off and arranged in a manner to reflect a church setting. There is a lectern with an open Bible and two candles on either side: from here the person assigned reads the lesson for the day. The pulpit is also located at the front of the arranged chapel, and a piano completes the setting. There are chairs provided for the students according to their grades with the lower grades sitting in front. The teachers sit on the sides facing the students, supposedly to supervise and observe them so as to intervene in case of disruptions.

Christian speech and behavior are emphasized as important for this environment and, if not adhered to, may have serious consequences. "In a Christian School it is important that students and faculty alike strive to set a God-pleasing example for each other in the way they speak and act. Immoral conduct will not be allowed, such as profane or obscene speech, writing, or action contrary to Christian decency" (vol. 3b, p. 6). Depending on the gravity of the offense the student will meet with the Dean of Discipline, or be suspended. Before such a student can be reinstated "the student needs to show that he/she understands the behavior was unacceptable, by apologizing to those he/she offended" (vol. 3b, p. 6). In so doing students are encouraged to participate in keeping the religious environment as pure as possible.

In admitting students into the school, careful consideration is given to the supervision that the students will have outside of school in order to provide continuity in the educational process. The school's ministry is "directed at supporting the Christian family in its obligation to bring up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord" (vol. 3b, p. 1), and is geared to serve primarily children of denomination Z. However, because of its non-discriminatory policy, 11% of its students are not members of the church. These students, however, as well as denomination Z students, must "be under the direct care or guidance of the parent(s) or guardian(s) while attending [denomination Z] school. Students who choose to live independent of their parent(s) or guardian(s) may be dismissed as a student of [School Z]" (vol. 3b, p. 1).

The school sees itself as participating actively in the religious life of the denomination in cooperation with the home and the church. To ensure this it makes "the teachings of the Holy Bible as confessed and practiced by [denomination Z], the basis of all religious instruction as well as the basis of any discipline that is carried out or policies which are implemented" (vol. 3f, p. 1). Not only does the school see itself as participating in the religious life and growth of the students but the denomination prescribes that "Christian education of any actively churched Christian individual is a part of the responsibility of the pastor's ministry" (vol. 3f, p. 1).

"The school is owned and operated by the Association. The [School Z] Association" (vol. 3, p. 2). This Association is made up of 10 congregations whose representatives on the board determine the intensity of the religious environment, formulate the policies which will govern the school, and serve as the final arbiter of disputes. The congregations further support the school by sending their youngsters there

to receive a high-school education and subsidize it with their financial contributions which makes school fees affordable for the students of the church and provides the necessary facilities.

During the time of conducting observations and interviews, the school was celebrating its 25th anniversary under the theme "25 Years of God's Grace and Blessing" (vol. 3b). It launched the celebrations with a religious service at the school and published a promotional magazine intended to raise money for the institution and to urge recommitment to the school and its programs. The magazine, which was distributed in the churches, displayed on its cover four generations of denomination Z family members, with the third generation being alumni of the school, and the fourth as future alumni. The theme was "from generation . . . to generation. Future generations will be told about the Lord" (vol. 3e).

Other indications of its religiosity can be seen in the school's triangular-shaped crest ensconced in a glass-framed bulletin board in the lobby of the school. It bears the name of the school, the date of establishment, a cross with a Bible, and the light from the cross shining on the Bible. On the three sides of the triangle are the words mind, soul, and body. These emblems are clearly visible as one enters the building. Each morning teachers begin classes with prayer. Subsequently each class throughout the day follows the same pattern. At the end of the school day the principal leads out corporately in the closing religious rites. He calls the school to order over the public address system, gives announcements, reads an appropriate verse from the Bible, and prays. School dismisses on that same note each day.

The Administrative Setting

School Z is governed by a Board of Regents selected by the Association of delegates representing the participating congregations. There are 10 congregations in this region of Michigan which came together to establish a school for the youth of their churches. The process of arriving at a governing board for the institution is as follows:

> The congregations select 75 men to serve as members of the association. These men are selected based on the size of the churches. All pastors of the church are delegates and one male teacher from each church. This Association selects a Board of Regents of 15 men to govern the school. The Board of Regents is made up of one member for each of the ten congregations and five at large. The five being two pastors from member congregations, two males from day elementary schools, and one person at large from the Association who serves as a treasurer. (vol. 3, p. 2)

No woman serves at the administrative level in the church or at the school; it is strictly a male domain. The reason given for this is that "it is part of the scriptural teachings that women keep silent in church. Men fulfill the leading roles" (vol. 3, p. 2). These men who serve on the board in turn follow as closely as possible the recommendations of the district president "who is appointed by the congregations in Michigan" (vol. 3, p. 3) specifically for the purpose of overseeing the organizational activities and advising on decisions to take and directions to follow. Frequently the board will confer with the district president and follow his directive, especially in the hiring of personnel.

The board is vested with the authority to hire and fire whomever they deem necessary, to request reports from the administration, to conduct meetings, to evaluate the progress of the institution, in short, to govern the entire operations through the principal. The principal does not have a vote on the board. "I am purely an advisor. I have no voice. The only vote I have is in the strategic planning, which involves the

principal, assistant principal, a representative of the Board of Regents, a member from our foundation board, and one from the association at large" (vol. 3, p. 8).

The board delegates the daily operations of the school to its principal who reports to them on a monthly basis. Interestingly, a member of the faculty is a voting member of the board, even though the principal is not, because he is a member of the Association and was elected as such to serve on the board. Principal Z uses this to his advantage, however, by placing this individual as "chairperson of a faculty committee" (vol. 3, p. 8) so that matters in which he is involved at the faculty level will get his support on the board.

As the head of the institution, Principal Z sees himself as both the principal and the administrator and makes the distinction accordingly:

> The principal relates mainly to the operation of the school on a day-to-day basis--its curriculum, supervision of teachers, visiting classroom and supervision of instruction, and looking at the performance of the custodial staff; whereas the administrator relates more to our parent group, our 10 congregations within the Association and the support we receive from them for the administration; it has to do with the financial support and operation of the school. (vol. 3, p. 6)

Principal Z described his role in the school as follows:

> I view my position as principal/administrator to be of service as a leader in the school in its day-to-day operation. My position as principal is to provide the leadership so that those in the other levels of our Association can perform their duties more faithfully. It is my job to see that they have adequate supplies, materials, educational opportunities so that each of these teachers who are called can better fulfill their responsibilities. They are trained and educated to serve in the area to which they are called and they should have the freedom to be able to do that within the guidelines that the school has established, as, for instance, the course of study for the classes. Then I visit the classrooms with the help of the assistant principal to see to it that they are fulfilling and carrying out their call. I also ask them how I can make it possible for them to serve better in their position. How I can help them to improve their teaching, their classroom instruction. (vol. 3, p. 5)

The principal is assisted in his administrative duties by a vice principal, a

secretary, and an accountant, each of whom works closely with him in academic and social areas, finance, and meeting the public on a daily basis. He reported the composition of the administrative and support staff as follows: Administration, 2; counseling, 1; classroom teachers, 10; support staff, 3; total, 16. The gender and ethnic makeup is: female, 31%; male, 69%; White, 100%; African American, 0%. The educational level represents: Doctorates, 0; Master's degree, 4; Bachelor's degrees, 12. The number of years in School Z education: 12% of teachers over 25 years, 50% between 6 and 24 years, 6% between 2 and 5 years, and 32% with one year's experience.

Principal Z also works closely with the executive committee of the board. This is made up of four persons who basically are "aware of everything that happens in the school, even though it might not be general knowledge to the rest of the board" (vol. 3, p. 12). Very sensitive matters which need board action are sometimes dealt with by the executive board, sparing individuals involved the embarrassment of facing the entire body in plenary session. As he has administered the policies of the organization for the past 30 years, Principal Z observed that a normal work day starts at "7:30 a.m. and ends at 5:30 p.m. Sometimes meetings will run from 7 p.m. to midnight" (vol. 3, p. 13). He spends school hours supervising and teaching classes, then after school he does his office work and conducts meetings. In this way Principal Z spreads his time and his presence around the organization in a way that he thinks will meet the demands of the stakeholders.

The Academic and Social Scene

The academic program at School Z is designed to graduate a student at the

end of 4 years of high school. Graduation, however, does not necessarily mean that the student has completed the requirements to enter college by School Z's standard, since the student may simply meet the graduation requirement of 16 academic credits exclusive of religion, music, and physical education. "Any student who plans to attend college should graduate with at least 3 years of math and science. For many programs a fourth year of each is important [as] minimum requirements of graduation from School Z are not considered [sufficient] for college entrance by most colleges" (vol. 3b, p. 18). The school's mission incorporates other dimensions which are as important as its academic function.

The basic academic requirements include four credits of English, three credits of social studies, one half credit of American government, two credits of mathematics, two credits of science and five credits of electives. In addition to these requirements,

> all students are required to do successful work in the religion course each year of their enrollment; take at least four classes that meet every day of the week plus religion; make the most possible of high school education years with at least one study hall; during grades 11 and 12 must take at least one course from literature, oral communication or written communication areas. (vol. 3d, p. 3)

Based upon the principle that the Lord encourages His followers to commend the good in one another, the school makes a special award available

> each year to a student of School Z for qualities of leadership, service, and citizenship in the school, the local congregation, and the community. The students nominate who they feel are most worthy of the award, and the faculty chooses the winner from the nominees. (vol. 3b, p. 16)

Invariably, the winner is chosen from the list of those with academic honors. This list is published at the end of each marking period and "students who have a grade point average of 3.25 or greater will be listed on the Honor Roll. Students with a grade point

average of 3.75 or greater will be listed on the Special Honors list" (vol. 3b, p. 16). At the end of the academic year those who excel academically receive academic letters or commendations. There are two ways in which these can be earned. Students need "1. to have been included in the Special Honors category for all three quarters of the school year, and 2. to have no grade below a B+ for three quarters and to have at least a 3.5 GPA for the same period" (vol. 3b, p. 16).

There are other incentives to encourage students to do well academically apart from intrinsic or family motivations. Among these are (1) the privilege of participation in extra-curricular activities and sports, which is based on "the student's quarter grades of the academic report" (vol. 3b, p. 19), (2) earning scholarships and grants to defray tuition expenses at the school, and (3) participation in commencement exercises. "The senior commencement speaker is chosen by the faculty from the senior honor students who are members of [denomination Z]. The honor may be awarded to two students if it is difficult to arrive at a single choice" (vol. 3b, p. 21).

Another method the school employs to facilitate students' academic growth is to assign advisors to each student.

> One teacher serves as the advisor to approximately 15 students, and that teacher meets with those 15 students every day for home room. In most cases, that teacher also has those students in a class, so they know their classroom performance. (vol. 3, p. 27)

There is a wide range of academic abilities among the students, but Principal Z observed that he and his staff are committed to helping each one perform at his/her maximum level. This is how he described their effort:

> We try to consistently encourage them to work, to perform, to do their work to the best of their God-given ability, and for some of them that may mean just getting by.

> For other students they do better. We compliment them, we counsel with them, we encourage them, we comment on their report cards. If the student does something that interests me, I'd say, I'd like to talk about that, and we do talk about that. It doesn't mean that they are going to be an A or B student or they will go on to a 4-year college for a degree. There are simply other ways in which they can serve their God, their community, and serve their fellow man. (vol. 3, p. 28)

Students' participation in the social activities of the school is dependent not only on their academic eligibility but also on the understanding that they and their parents are aware

> that selection for and continued participation in any school activity depends upon a respect for God's Word as taught in [School Z], as well as respect for the authority of the faculty and staff. Any demonstrated disrespect for God's Word or for a member of the faculty or staff as well as any demonstrated lifestyle or activity(ies), either at school or away from school, that would bring into question the sincerity of the students' Christian convictions will be grounds for their suspension or expulsion from any and all school activities. (vol. 3b, p. 23)

At the beginning of the school year, each student is given a handbook which outlines the activities for the given year and the code of conduct for those participating, as well as for the general student body. Such activities are restricted to athletics and music. The staff concerned with these areas make the rules and regulations which must be approved by "[Principal Z], and the [School Z] Board of Regents" (vol. 3b, p. 24), and require strict adherence.

The athletic program includes soccer, basketball, baseball, volleyball, and softball. These are an integral part of the school's curriculum, and "exist as a tool for Christian education through the unique lessons learned in athletics" (vol. 3b, p. 24). Before students join they are encouraged to read the rules and consequences carefully along with their parents and decide if they want to make the commitment. "Signatures on the form indicate that the players and parents understand the rules, intend to obey them,

and are willing to accept the consequences of any infractions" (vol. 3b, p. 24). These rules forbid students to use alcohol, tobacco, drugs, and marijuana in any form. They must be punctual for practice and obtain excuses for absences, which are allowed only for unavoidable situations. Students are not supposed to participate in any other activity during the school year which would interfere with their ability to practice or be ready for games. Consequently they are only allowed to "participate in one [School Z] sport at a time" (vol. 3b, p. 26). They may attend no parties where the training code is being broken. Because the goal of the athletic program is to work toward God-pleasing sportsmanship and have the teams accomplish great things, the following points are underscored: (1) parents should cheer for School Z's team in a positive way; (2) refrain from cheering against opposing teams; (3) treat officials with courtesy; and (4) treat all participants in a Christian manner (vol. 3b, p. 26).

Similar expectations are required of those students and teachers who participate in music activities. These activities include the choir, band, Pep Band, and other band ensembles, and the Festival Singers, a singing group chosen by the director. Faithful and punctual attendance is required and students should consider not joining if they cannot make that commitment. Students are expected to participate in an activity, whether musical or athletic. "Performance in concerts is an integral part of the course for Freshmen music, chorus, and band. Attendance at these concerts is not optional for students in these classes. Missed concerts will be counted as class absences" (vol. 3b, p. 2).

To assist students in developing a sense of responsibility and leadership "from a Christian point of view" (vol. 3, p. 23), a Student Council is established to act as a liaison between students and faculty. It plans students' activities and "makes

recommendations on school problems that come within the scope of its jurisdiction" (vol. 3, p. 23). This council convenes only when the faculty advisor is present. The class officers make up the student council. They appear most successful as they work on the class level to assist fellow students to abide by the school's code of conduct. "The students at [school Z] represent the Lord to their fellow students, to visitors, and to the community" (vol. 3b, p. 8); therefore they are expected to be models in Christian speech and behavior. Immoral conduct such as profanity, indecent speech, and writing contrary to Christian decency (vol. 3b, p. 6) are forbidden. Because of its concern with public offenses and morality, School Z sets limits on the public display of affection. "Only hand holding is permitted; further display of affection is inappropriate" (vol. 3b, p. 12). Other guidelines are given on dress, use of lockers and school property, security, arrival at and departure from school, and student housing. A student who has to board in the area to attend school can only do so at the house of a denomination Z family approved by the school. In the foregoing areas and others, students assist each other in abiding by the requirements that will enable them to attend this institution.

Structure and Design of School Z

The school was designed and established in "our tradition to teach our students our Christian tradition . . . . All our classes are taught by Christian teachers trained in our Christian schools" (vol. 3, p. 1). With these words Principal Z gave his description of the school's structure and why it is particularly suitable to their situation. At the head of the institution is a principal, who is in charge of the day-to-day operations of the school. He reports to a governing body called the Board of Regents. The School

Z Association, which is made up of 75 members from the 10 supporting congregations, elects the Board of Regents, who in turn calls the principal to his position. The Board of Regents is made up of 15 members, and has total responsibility for the institution. "Four of the 15 members, the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and treasurer, with the principal being the advisor" (vol. 3, p. 12), make up the Executive Board.

> Sometimes the vice-principal sits with the executive committee, depending on whether it is a matter of student behavior or curriculum decision that he works directly with. The executive board is aware of most things that happen in the school, even though some things may not be brought to the attention of the board. (vol. 3, p. 12)

None of the teachers sit on the board as representatives of the faculty, the one teacher who does is by virtue of his election through the Association, and he represents the Association there. The principal and vice-principal serve only as advisors, albeit the former is a very influential advisor as the board usually listens to his advice. He guides the board on the policies and makes recommendations for them to follow. When pressed on the point of their not conferring with his position, he responded, "If it is a serious matter, I would have to decide if I could live with it or not, and if it is a serious one and I can't live with it, I would have to offer my resignation" (vol. 3, p. 9). He finds creative ways, however, to relate to the board, like asking teachers to come and make presentations on matters in which they have the expertise, and will be more effective in the presentation than he.

The board approves virtually every plan, program, and policy which operates in the school as well as the recruitment of and/or firing of teachers and staff. Interestingly, the board offers a call to each person, not a contract. Principal Z differentiated between them as follows:

> The call as opposed to the contract, though certainly the financial support is necessary, it is one of the lesser concerns on the part of myself as principal/ administrator of the school, as well as our teachers; we are not in the work for the sake of money. The call represents, really, a higher incentive for us and that is to serve our Lord and Savior in proclaiming the gospel to the students that we have at this school, and in the broader sense to the ten congregations that we serve as an Association. So our religious element is much more of a dedication rather than just the commitment to a signed agreement or contract. . . . In the contract it is usually spelled out specifically what your salary is, what your line of duty is, job description is, what you can do, and what you cannot, and it is for a set amount of time, and they spell out the number of hours and the number of paid and unpaid holidays and vacation. In our call all these are not specified; it basically says that we are called to serve our Lord and Savior in whatever capacity. The call does not specify how many hours I am going to work at this. It does not specify my vacation time. (vol. 3, p. 4)

He also pointed out that there are no restrictions or time limits on the call. "As long as a person is serving faithfully, he has a call. We review the performance, but not with the view that their call will not be renewed or anything" (vol. 3, p. 5). This function is performed by the principal, who takes his recommendations to the board for their approval.

He cited the Great Commission (Matt 28:19-20) as the integral part of the operation of the school. "In that Great Commission we use Christ as the example. He has really set the pattern for us as he worked with his disciples; we do the same thing for the students that we have" (vol. 3, p. 41). Principal Z sees himself following Jesus' pattern as he forms an inner circle of individuals to make up an administrative council. "The assistant principal has a position there; at the present time we use the athletic director because he's most involved with the activity. We fill the fourth position by election of the faculty itself" (vol. 3, p. 35). This committee assists him in the administrative decisions and actions which are taken.

Even though the board makes provision for the inflow of funds and requires

the treasurer to be directly involved, Principal Z sees himself as the chief financial person in the institution.

> That is a part of my job to be the chief financial person. I have a financial secretary who basically carries out whatever I ask her to do. She has a dual responsibility. First and foremost her responsibility is to the elected treasurer of the Board of Regents, but in all practicality we only see him once every other week as the treasurer. The financial secretary does everything including the signing of checks as long as it is in conformity with the established procedure and budget. As administrator I approve every bill that is paid, so that I keep tabs on where we are at. (vol. 3, p. 34)

He credits the general orderliness and quiet atmosphere at the school not to any administrative skills or experience but to "a reflection on the part of the staff and the faculty on the effective Word of God. The teachers are dedicated about the work that they have been called to do" (vol. 3, p. 30). None of the effort to have a creditable institution is aimed at fulfilling accreditation requirements. Principal Z pointed out that the school's only accrediting body is the denominational parent organization, which really is important to them.

> We do not have formal recognition nor accreditation from them, but the self-study is one of the things you normally do on a periodic basis in order to receive accreditation and then to maintain it. We did that with the possibility that we may be seeking it. We're not ready to do that because when it comes right down to it, what does that really mean? It is meaningless. (vol. 3, p. 33)

For the most part the school does not have an external body other than the board which audits its program. There is no systematic approach to drafting policies.

> They have accumulated over the years, and I have to operate with those policies that are in place, but I have the freedom, I have the responsibility to recommend changes to the policy to fit things that have to be considered, to consider changes that are appropriate. (vol. 3, p. 17)

It should be noted that unless the board approves the recommendations they cannot be considered as part of the operating policy. Every policy item "will go through the

administrator--through me" (vol. 3, p. 17), claimed Principal Z.

> Even if we have an academic committee, in effect the curriculum that is offered at this school is in itself a policy, in that you say this is the curriculum we are offering, and it can be altered based upon the recommendations of the board, so that they can change the policy, change what's offered. We carry it through the faculty's academic committee. It is studied, fine-tuned at the board's academic committee before the board receives it. (vol. 3, p. 17)

In this way the teachers participate in the overall picture that emerges. They operate in cells at their level, but the direction that they choose for the school can ultimately be adopted by the board if it has the approval of the principal. It is largely a system which they have created over a period of time.

The parents give their input, which is significant, largely through the church. They accept and support programs recommended to them by the board through the pastors. Most of the pastors of the Association are members of the board, and they use their influence in the pulpit to elicit support for the school, which is usually good. I attended a school concert on a spring Saturday afternoon, and the gymnasium was filled to capacity with supporting parents and church members.

Ideology and Control

The fundamental beliefs of denomination Z guide the institution in all of its operations and relationships with its stakeholders. The principal summed up the constraining factors in this way:

> Christ is the very center of each and every thing we do. If we are not serving Christ in the classes or any of the programs that we have, then that program, that subject or class does not belong in our system. It is the very heart and core, we use it to nurture the students. The Word of God is central to everything, and we have to examine everything in the light of Scripture. We just did that in our self-study. If it doesn't fit then it goes. (vol. 3, p. 42)

The school underscores the foregoing in the mission statement which states that "[School Z] provides a Christ-centered confessionally [denomination Z] education to prepare young adults to serve as disciples of Christ" (vol. 3, p. 41). Principal Z explained that a confessionally denomination Z education "means that we adhere to very distinct confessions that are strong in the church, in that we live and practice and adhere to those which have been the confession statements of the forefathers of our church, and we still speak of them" (vol. 3, p. 42). The entire system was structured and geared toward nurturing the students to adapt this way of life and perpetuate it; "we concentrate our efforts more on the students that we have, and through them to the ends of the earth" (vol. 3, pp. 41, 42).

The concept of passing on the heritage is one way of ensuring that the beliefs do not die with the present generation, but help to commit each generation to the ideals of the organization. Principal Z described the program in this way:

> The generation-to-generation program is specifically one that we have picked up from Scripture, using it as a model because it truly has been the practice in our particular school--even as the picture indicates with four generations being on the picture cover. The people of the older generations have provided the funds, the backing, in order to build the school and operate it, so the next generation and their children in turn will continue to do this for the third and fourth generations of students to come, their children and other children from the congregations. (vol. 3, p. 23)

Another way of passing on the heritage and cementing the denomination' beliefs on the students is through the involvement of the pastors and their impact on the school. "Right now they have a very big impact because they are coming in on a rotation basis and they're teaching senior religion classes" (vol. 3, p. 33). They lead out in devotions on Friday mornings at which time they address the student body on issues

which are presented from the church's point of view. Not only do they impact the students directly, but they also serve on the governing bodies and participate in the decisions which are taken to run the school. "They're automatically part of the larger association of delegates. They definitely impact and have a voice there. Two of them represent the group of pastors on the Board of Regents. They also meet regularly in what they call a circuit of pastors, and I meet with them" (vol. 3, p. 33).

Control of Teachers

The school exercises its control over the teachers in the way they are trained, called to work in the institution, and their commitment. Principal Z expressed it this way:

> Teachers are trained in colleges operated by the denomination before they are appointed to the staff. Even if they receive their academic training elsewhere, they must be certified by the denomination by taking the required courses at the denominational college. Teachers are expected to live according to the teachings of the Bible as taught by the denomination. To this they pledge allegiance or compliance before employment. They are expected to be an example to the students in every phase of their lives--in school, in church, or in community. (vol. 3, p. 2)

The general idea is to train the teachers to a level where the denomination is comfortable that they can carry out the mission of the school. When the young teachers enter the denomination Z classroom, "we assign them to another experienced teacher to be a mentor. They work closely with them in addition to the principal and vice principal" (vol. 3, p. 23). With this strict requirement for teaching in this institution, the principal was asked how he finds substitutes for teachers in emergency situations. His response indicated that such a situation was planned for.

> Our substitute teachers are all trained in our [denomination Z] elementary education program. A list of teachers is compiled, teachers who have had experience at least from the elementary and secondary level. Many times they are wives of teachers

> who are in the area, and wives of teachers in our own school. We look first and foremost at the religious training that it is comparable to the basic religious training of the rest of our teachers. Secondly, if we had somebody that has actually taught in the school, that's great. Thirdly, that they do understand the mission, the whole purpose of the school. (vol. 3, p. 29)

The educational program does not allow the teacher to exercise much flexibility with the curriculum; everything is prepared in advance and given to them for implementation. "As part of their call, we specify the curriculum area that they are responsible for teaching, and then we have the phrase or sentence in there that says that extracurricular duties according to the needs of the school, and the interest and ability of the teacher by mutual agreement with the teacher and the principal" (vol. 3, p. 38).

One area that is very important to the school is the conduct and behavior of the teachers who must set the right example for the students. The fact that they are practicing members of the denomination does not qualify them to be teachers in the institution.

> A teacher that we asked to consider resigning for the welfare of the school and his personal benefit, I sat beside him in church just the other evening. He is still a practicing Christian but the manner and condition under which he was serving--it was no longer working professionally. (vol. 3, pp. 20, 21)

Principal Z did not hesitate to respond to the question as to whether a person who transgressed the principles of the church could still hold his/her position in the school:

> We would ask for their resignation. They would not be allowed to continue to serve. If they did not think they were wrong and wanted to contest or object to that, they would be given the opportunity to appeal to the board. The board would decide if they needed the resignation or if the position is terminated. (vol 3, p. 21)

The church and the school operate on the same principle, but whereas one exercises much grace and can afford to offer the benefits of Christianity at large (vol. 3, p. 21), the

other has to guard the professional trust and confidence which, once lost, are difficult to restore.

There is also no mercy for the teacher who doubts the faith of the church or has apostatized: "Immediate dismissal! But out of love and concern we would be willing to carry them for a time until they can make the transition" (vol. 3, p. 21). Principal Z then cited the example of how the board had dealt with a "fallen teacher."

> As they worked with that teacher, I was not even present during the discussions. The board representative came to me in my office and said "if we do such and such what will you do tomorrow, how will you deal with the day after tomorrow?" and I said "this is what I will do." He said "O.K. I will give you our answer within half an hour." They came back and told me they had dismissed the teacher for valid reasons. "We will provide for the teacher and his family for three months. Your responsibility is to have somebody in the classroom tomorrow." That was at 10:30 at night, and I had to have someone there at 8:00 the following morning to teach those classes and also to provide temporary replacement for the rest of the school year. If somebody transgressed a command of God which the school adheres to as its principle, we could not allow that teacher to be in the classroom and be teaching. (vol. 3, p. 21)

The school guarantees its teachers a job even if their teaching skills are not well honed, but only if their conduct and confession of faith synchronize with that of the denomination.

Control of Students

A student is admitted into School Z on the basis of (1) successfully completing elementary school, (2) having an interview along with his/her parent or guardian with the principal or his designee, and (3) an expressed desire on his/her part as well as the parent/guardian "to learn the truth of God's Word as believed, taught, and confessed by [denomination Z] and conveyed through the curriculum presented at School Z" (vol. 3g, p. 1). At this initial interview the parents and students are given the

necessary orientation to the policies and procedures of School Z. One such policy is that "all students are required to take a religion course designed to further their study and knowledge of God's word each year they attend [School Z]. All classes are also taught from a scriptural viewpoint" (vol. 3a, p. 3).

Principal Z explained that provision is made for the acceptance of students who do not profess the faith. They are referred to as non-Association members. "Such students are required to [adhere to] the same religious principles, but they are not forced to accept the faith or to withdraw from the school if they do not" (vol. 3, p. 2). There is no overt attempt to proselytize them, but in the process of participating in the school's program, some students do become members of the faith.

Once students are accepted into the institution every effort is made to have them conform or adopt the principles of the school. Principal Z pointed out that in School Z a disciplinary tool is available which is not used in the public schools. "We use the Word of God. We appeal to the moral values of the students, based upon the instructions from their parents from the elementary level, and from the Word of God" (vol. 3, p. 26). The staff appeals to students' responsibility to God as His creatures. In addition to students' religious convictions and compliance with the school's rules, those who do not internalize the principles and get into trouble face other disciplinary measures. "They might get a detention, or it could be a suspension" (vol. 3, p. 25).

Every effort is made to help the student conform to the school's rules and regulations. If, however, this proves impossible, the withdrawal process is done in a way to salvage the student. This is how Principal Z described it:

If a student is required to leave the institution, the process starts with the student

> being counseled by the school. If needs be the parents are involved, and only if the situation cannot be resolved is a student asked to withdraw. The same procedure is followed for students who are communicants except that the student counsels with the pastor and the Board of Regents votes the decision for withdrawal. (vol. 3, p. 2)

He went on to say that "we use extreme patience in working with them because our objective is to keep the students, not to get rid of them. We will walk the extra mile, we will bend over backwards" (vol. 3, pp. 26, 27).

The students play a very vital role in keeping other students in line, especially the younger ones and newcomers. "The older students serve as examples for the others" (vol. 3, p. 30). The principal requires them to do so and encourages the younger students to show them respect. "I have to tell the freshmen that these people are setting the example; you do owe them that respect. It is expected of a student who is older to show it [respect] to the younger, and then we expect the younger also to show it to one another" (vol. 3, p. 30). In this way the level of conformity to the system is perpetuated through the students' adherence and example. In addition, the influence of the Student Council, made up only of denomination Z members, and guided by a teacher, is quite pervasive as it deals with student misdemeanors.

The Power of the Principal

Principal Z has had over 40 years in education, the majority of which has been in administrative positions. He is quite aware of the source and scope of his power. He described it this way: "The authority which I have as principal or administrator of this school comes directly from God, but through the governing body, the Board of Regents"

(vol. 3, p. 4). Having obtained the mandate from the "higher powers," Principal Z declared that he has

> the authority to do virtually anything in relationship to the operation of the school, the staff members, and the students. I can suspend, I can fire, I can tell a teacher that they must do certain things. I normally do not operate any 'must' situation. But I have the authority as given to me by the Board, but I do have to answer to them, and explain why I have done such a thing. So the ultimate responsibility rests with the board. I can make a decision and explain it later: if there are gross concerns about what we believe and teach, I can suspend a teacher pending dismissal by the board. (vol. 3, pp. 6, 7)

Principal Z explained his modus operandi when using his power, "primarily because of the scriptural injunction that we should operate all things we do as Christians out of love; love to our brothers. . . . And out of evangelical concern we examine ourselves, are we doing this as the Word of God would want us to follow?" (vol. 3, p. 7). He continued: "I would use this approach of love and concern as I deal with a student, and even though our rules and guidelines say that a student should be suspended for 3 days, I may choose, and have the authority, to do it for only 1 day" (vol. 3, p. 7). He has exercised his power to dismiss students from school pending approval by the board, which usually upholds his decision. This he calls 'tough love' which may be extended "to a student, a member of staff, out of consideration for them personally, and out of a larger consideration of the effect it will have on the school" (vol. 3, p. 7).

Interestingly, the power that the principal speaks so confidently about is awarded by the board on which he has no vote. His role is strictly advisory (vol. 3, p. 8). However, before he takes matters to the board, he determines "the basis for what is to be done, then I go the board with the recommendation" (vol. 3, p. 39). Usually they accept the recommendations he suggests. Nor is he powerless on the board because he has no

vote, for he is the individual with the expertise on education. Thus, even as they vote, he leads them to vote in the best possible way. He is able to influence them because he perceives himself as the leader of the school. "If the leadership is not provided, the school is not provided, the school is going to slip, or if it provided leadership in the reverse direction that's the way the school is going to go" (vol. 3, p. 42).

Neither does Principal Z forfeit the spiritual leadership of the school to the pastor. He declared, "I am the spiritual leader of the school. It is not the pastor who may be teaching within our faculty. That is my responsibility. If I don't live up to it, I could be dismissed for the same thing" (vol. 3, p. 22). He thinks that the religiosity of the school has definitely improved because of his leadership, and this can be measured in the students' response to such activities and the reactions of the parents (see vol. 3, pp. 44, 45). Thus, in spiritual matters, even though he works with the clergy, he has the controlling decision to determine the level of their involvement and how they may be involved. He expressed confidence that the religious life of the school has improved during his tenure as principal "whether you measure that in the reactions or the readings you get from the students themselves" (vol. 3, p. 44).

The decisions that Principal Z makes are made with consideration to "the mission and philosophy of the school along with my experience" (vol. 3, p. 9). He also involves the faculty in this process and requires that their recommendations be in accordance with given guidelines. If not, he said, "I personally cannot defend that action. I would not be able to present [it] to the board, if it were not in agreement with what I would do" (vol. 3, p. 9). He delegates responsibilities to his staff and monitors their carrying out such responsibilities. He uses this along with supervisory reports from the

vice-principal to assess the teachers. "I have a copy of the file of each teacher as well. It is kept by the assistant principal because he is involved in supervision. . . . At the end of the year I sit down with each teacher and each staff member and have a conference of about an hour as to how the year went, what were its weaknesses and strengths that I am aware of, and what they have been doing about it" (vol. 3, p. 22). On the basis of this conference, Principal Z decides the tasks to be assigned to each teacher for the ensuing year.

Principal Z constantly underscored the fact that his power is derived solely from the Word of God as the supreme authority, as he enforces the constitution, and by laws of the school. "I carry out my administration conforming to the work of God as laid out by these guidelines" (vol. 3, p. 44). Even in restructuring the school, he did this in a way to advance "Christian education among the students and parents" (vol. 3, p. 44). He feels that he enjoys the goodwill of the board, teachers, students, and parents because, in his words,

> I am trying to put to use my years of experience. . . . what's the best way to do this? A lot of common sense, with the use of experience of what not to do and what to do. I do a lot of listening. I don't make decisions on my own, I involve faculty, staff, board, students, grass roots people. I get opinions and thoughts from them. They have a lot to do and a lot to say. (vol. 3, p. 19)

Leading by What Authority

Principal Z clearly established his opinion on the divine nature of the call given to him to be the leader of the school. This call was channeled through the organization's board to him. He views his position as principal as one in which he provides "the leadership so that those in other levels of our Association or our school can perform their

duties more faithfully" (vol. 3, p. 5). Having accepted the position, he assumed the responsibility of "putting together the whole curriculum, supervising the calling process for teachers to serve in the classrooms, assessing the teachers for serving in the classroom, and overseeing the physical plant in which these classes were going to be conducted" (vol. 3, p. 6).

By working closely with the faculty and board, Principal Z has been able to steer the institution in the direction that he wants.

> When I came here 3 ½ years ago, one of the biggest criticisms that we had of this school was the very young faculty. At one time, more than half of the faculty members here had come directly out of college and had less than 3 years experience, and I was called directly out of the cry and need of those young faculty members coming to the board and saying "please give us a person with more experience to supervise the school." The board has followed the practice. (vol. 3, p. 19)

Using this precedence to his advantage, Principal Z has encouraged the board to adopt his recommendations in staff selection.

> They choose the ones who had the most teaching experience and a variety of other experiences. They took the oldest with the most experience rather than the youngest, so this will cost them several thousand dollars a year more, and they will have to go out and find the money. They have done that quite consistently. (vol. 3, p. 19)

His leadership at times requires that he draw on the respect he has earned to resolve difficult situations. He described one case when he used his power to correct a deteriorating situation by calling for a teacher to resign:

> We've worked with a teacher for a long period of time getting the person to seek first of all professional advice in terms of the needs, and sitting down with the individual teacher trying to help him see the weak areas, and how to improve, and giving him recommendations to consider, what he should or should not do and finally reaching the point hoping that the transition would take place by the end of the first semester but it did not happen until we were 2 weeks into the second semester. The person finally said "I am ready, I see it", so the resignation

took place in mid-January. (vol. 3, p. 20)

Principal Z pointed out that individuals are not always led to a state to recognize the need to resign. "There are times when you have to cut them because they have transgressed the policies," but even so, "we have to carry them for some time to help them make the adjustment, just out of love and concern for the individual and the family, not necessarily because we are obligated to" (vol. 3, p. 20).

The same imperative which constrains him to relate to the teachers is also transferred to the students. "We use as a basis for our discipline a tool which is not available to public school teachers and administrators. We use the Word of God" (vol. 3, pp. 25, 26). Even for students whose behavior is inconsistent with the code of conduct, Principal Z said, "We exercise an extreme amount of patience in working with them, because our objective is to keep the students, not to get rid of them. We will walk the extra mile, we will bend over backwards" (vol. 3, p. 27).

The basic idea that Principal Z conveyed in his approach to leadership is that he is a servant of the organization to carry out its mission in his style without forfeiting the ideals of the organization.

> The ideas really come down from the board to the large majority of people of the Association, and all I am doing is using the gifts that the Lord has given to lead, to guide what the large group of people [nearly 5,000 adults] want to have in their [School Z] high school. (vol. 3, p. 24)

Distributing Influence

Principal Z occupies the most central position in the institution, and seems aware of the significant role of other players, such as the teachers, board members, students, and parents. One of the ways in which he is able to generate the support of

each entity is by communication. "I try to keep the faculty informed. keep the door open" (vol. 3, p. 42). Principal Z feels that by involving teachers in the decision-making process he is minimizing the effect of the hierarchical structure on which schools operate. So he solicits their opinions and involves them in the discussion on the direction of the institution.

> I try to communicate things that are being thought about, things upon which we have to reach a decision. Depending on the amount of time I open up the agenda [in faculty meeting]. . . . communicate and listen, listen to their concerns, be open to them, and then it may finally come down to the point of: I have presented this to you, you have listened, you have had your input at the divisions of the committees. All of the problems for next year will be assigned to a committee. They come back with recommendations for the faculty. (vol. 3, p. 43)

Principal Z's strategy is to allow the teachers to take ownership of the actions passed by the institution. "When they become part of it, they are the stakeholders. They are the ones who have to enforce and live with the rule. For me to simply say, "

> This is the way you are going to do it," they would resist, but by doing it this way, they have the input and they will come and say, "We know that you try to do your best, we will do our best." They may not be entirely happy but [they] had a part of it. (vol. 3, p. 43)

He furnishes the staff with sufficient information to keep them informed of the discussions taking place at the board level. "I try to filter as much as I can without divulging certain privileged information that should not go out. . . . I do that in a regular memo to faculty and staff, and I communicate to them through the faculty meeting. I like to do it verbally and get faculty reaction" (vol. 3, p. 11). Of course, he passes on to them only what he thinks they need to know.

> We are looking right now at the financial package and benefits for our teachers and staff for the next year beginning July 1. As a part of that a proposed salary has been communicated to the faculty. . . . They had a reaction, an input, and their feeling on it has gone back to the board and the board has not made a decision. I share some

> of the expressions that have come back from the board with the faculty. (vol. 3, p. 11)

At the same time there are discussions of another nature which he will share neither with the faculty nor the board.

> Some confidentiality as to difficulties we may be having with some teachers or staff members, even if the board is aware of those difficulties, we may not spell it out to the board, we may not even name the specific teacher, just assure the board that the personnel committee is working with the person trying to resolve the difficulties that exist. I will not share that with the faculty. (vol. 3, p. 11)

The best internal influencers are by far the teachers who sit on the various committees. ""They will deal with the extracurricular activities of the students, and so on . . . . The most active would be those who sit with me on the administrative council. That involves three active faculty members, by their position or by direct election of the faculty" (vol. 3, p. 33). This administrative council is considered the most influential in the school: "We meet on a weekly basis for an hour and a half, normally on a Wednesday" (vol. 3, p. 34). It is made up of the vice-principal, the athletic director, and a teacher "selected by the faculty on a yearly basis" (vol. 3, p. 34). This committee, chaired by the principal, directs the day-to-day operations of the school.

So influential is this committee, that the principal, to secure his position in the school, must have the members as his allies. "I would certainly tie myself closer and open up to the administrative council, that is, the three fellow faculty members who sit with me on that" (vol. 3, p. 42). Incidentally, they are all male, in keeping with the philosophy of the faith. The other individual with whom the principal seeks to work closely by virtue of his position is the chairman of the board. "I would not hesitate to go to him" (vol. 3, p. 41) personally in cases of need.

Principal Z's influence on the board is tremendous. Whether this is earned by virtue of his expertise or referent attributes is not very clear, but he is able to influence the board to the extent of their transferring power to him. He has been able to have the board amend restrictive policies and to allow administration to make decisions which were normally board prerogatives. "The board considered the recommendation and left it to the administration to determine if such a change or requirement can be omitted" (vol. 3, p. 18). The board defers to him in cases of employment of teachers, as he presents his points in favor of the candidate of his choice (see vol. 3, p. 17). The level of control extends to the financial operation which he supervises and directs at his will. Whatever he does "figures in the financial report, and until the report is audited, you may not even find it, and sometimes the audit may not happen" (vol. 3, p. 40).

The influence of the Association of churches is recognized through the pastors and their visits becoming more frequent. "We normally might see two pastors in a week, but now we are seeing five or six pastors each week" (vol. 3, p. 33). Working with the principal, they direct the religious life of the school. Not only do they teach the students from the Scriptures, but they also show them how to pray. Students and teachers alike are taught the importance of prayer and its significance in their lives. During worship the prayers are read but, at other times, individuals pray spontaneously. Prayers are said at the beginning of the day, at the close of the day, and at the start of each class session. The purpose of this is to help students recognize a higher power in their lives which will help them to do well.

Summary

School Z, which is owned and operated by denomination Z through an Association of churches located in a particular region of the state of Michigan, is a religious institution which has as its main objective the education of the high-school-age youth of its church. Their education involves a knowledge of God as revealed in the Scriptures, as well as the necessary academic and social skills which will help them to internalize this knowledge of God and then convey it to others through their witness. The school has been in operation at this site for the past 26 years, and the trend indicates that it will maintain its position in the foreseeable future without any changes. The physical setting is adequate to facilitate the given tasks. The structure that is in place provides a board, which is formed by Association members. This board is empowered to run the institution. It employs a staff that is 100% denomination Z members who confess and live up to the standards of the church. The day-to-day operation of the school is delegated to the principal who is assisted by his faculty and staff.

The church is integrally involved in the operations of the school through the personnel to whom they have entrusted its care. The district overseer, who is the head of the church in Michigan, approves the list of employees before the board votes on its choice. In essence he becomes the titular head of the institution and must resolve issues which are not resolved locally. The board, however, deals with most of the problems successfully, making appeals unnecessary. They are advised by the principal/vice-principal who are not members of the board and have no vote, but who succeed in getting them to listen to their advice.

Each employee is "called" to his position and views that as a summons from

God through His human instruments, in this case the board members. It is this "call" which evokes commitment and motivates each individual to labor unstintingly, with their primary concern being not salary but service to God and to His children. Into this belief system Principal Z has successfully tapped to require faithful service, which for the most part is given willingly. Principal Z works under the conviction that his position is divinely bestowed; therefore, he has the authority to steer the school in a particular direction, requiring compliance from both teachers and students. In doing so, however, he seeks to apply methods which are acceptable to all stakeholders, including parents, pastors, and parishioners whom he informs of the development and activities in the school through his weekly newsletter.

CHAPTER VI

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter is the cross analysis of power in Schools X, Y, and Z. This cross-case analysis is intended to examine the data across cases, a process which in itself helps to strengthen the internal validity of the case study (Yin, 1984).

The same basic framework that was used in analyzing the case studies was used in the cross-case analysis. The use of power was compared and contrasted under the following headings: The Organizational Structure; Accumulation of Power; Ideology and Power; Leadership or Power; Power Display; and Power for Service.

The task of this chapter is not to measure but to "emphasize, describe, judge, compare, portray, and create for the reader, the sense of having been there" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 149).

The Organizational Structure

In an article on the theory of power, Burbules (1986) posited that organizational frameworks bifurcate human interests in the sense that (1) the interdependence is artificial, conditioned only by the immediate concerns of the group, and (2) the exact division of tasks is formed and directed by parties other than those who will carry them out. He suggested also that bureaucratic organizations usually exert

control (power) over persons by allotting specific and accountable tasks. These three institutions studied may be classified as bureaucratic organizations because the hierarchy of authority is evident in them.

Each of these institutions is structured in a way which allows for an external, higher individual or body with final authority to allow or disallow its local decisions and existence. This is primarily so because the church organization to which they belong has the higher or veto power to keep the institution in check. In each of the institutions, the principal in charge reports to individuals or a board, which is accountable to a higher organizational body or individual. One difference is that in School Y the principal reports to the pastors, who in turn report to their boss (vol 2, p. 5). The board functions in an advisory position with no administrative clout (vol 2, p. 3). The hierarchy of power is organized to flow from the controlling church organization or whoever represents the organization, whether an individual (School Y and Z) or a committee (School X), down to the board, then to the principal, and subsequently to whomever he delegates responsibilities.

The higher organization drafts the broad policies by which the institution operates, and the specific institutional policies, when drafted separately, are written within the scope of these wider organizational policies. This is the case with School X and Y. School Z has more flexibility in the sense that its local policies emerge over time as the need arises. They are codified and adapted to represent the body of regulations to govern the institution. The individual elected to be the general overseer of the churches in the parish relates more to personnel matters rather than policy matters.

These institutions are operated by the church and run according to the

guidelines which are established by the church organization. To make sure that this happens, only members of the church may serve on these institutional boards. In schools X and Z the lay members are elected for a given period of time by the respective entities which make up their constituencies. This approach was reversed in School Y, and now the pastors appoint members according to the skills they have which are useful to the school. "We took away the idea that since I am elected I am in control" (vol 2, p. 12). This board now serves as an "advisory board for the principal and a clearing house for the pastors when situations come up" (vol. 2, p. 1). It is stripped of any statutory function and authority to determine how the school operates. The two pastors have that controlling power. On the other hand, X's and Z's boards have plenary powers to determine how they are run. In all three schools, such powers are still subject to the guidelines of the larger organizational policy.

Also in these organizations, the clergy has a constant position, guaranteed by policy, on the governing body. In School Y the principal described the institution as a "church school that is run by the pastors" (vol 2, p. 1). While the pastors participate in and support the local board proceedings, they represent the interest of the larger/higher organization which determines their position and participation on the board. Even in the case of School Y, whose board's function is advisory, the pastors are appointed to their powerful position by the head of the church in the region, and they report directly to him. The policies which govern the institution are sent to the school from this regional headquarters, and they are adhered to without alteration. There is no scope for flexibility in each of the schools. They may not chart a path independent of, or without the approval of, church organization. Even when they seek accreditation from statutory

bodies, which does not happen in the case of School Z, it must be by consent of the church organization.

The method of selecting the chief executive and staff for the schools varies from institution to institution. The common thread is that the chief executive in all cases must be a practicing, committed member of the church. In School X the board delegates the selection of the principal to a search committee which interviews prospective candidates and submits the finalists for board selection of the best candidate. The staff is recruited by the principal subject to final approval by the board. The board has no final say in the selection of the principal in School Y. That is the exclusive prerogative of the two pastors who run the churches which support the school. Staff are appointed by the principal after conferring with the pastors. The board in School Z sends the names to the parish overseer who sends back a short list of possible candidates. After prayer and voting the board chooses one of the individuals who must be their unanimous choice. Teachers are selected in a similar way. The individual is then "called" and offered the job, without going through an interview process but after receiving the commendation of the head of the church in the region. He usually accepts this "call" as one from God.

None of the schools studied had a female administrator; in fact, in two of the schools, X and Z, approximately 70% of the staff are male. The opposite situation exists in School Y. All three schools are male directed even where females are in the majority on the staff. In School Z, not only is a female not a part of administration, but a woman cannot sit on the board because of the denomination's interpretation of the Bible that men should take leading roles in religious affairs, and that is carried over into the school which

is an arm of the church, and there is no obvious indication that the structure will remedy the situation.

In each of the three institutions the property is owned by the larger religious organization. The land, buildings, and all the assets belong to the church body, and are administered centrally on behalf of the members who contributed to their acquisition. The members of the respective congregations support the schools with monthly appropriations, and these members are represented on the boards through their pastors or other lay representatives who are required to carry out their wishes. This financial contribution by members is significant in reducing the cost of tuition to students and providing funds for equipment and expansion.

All three institutions are subjected to a hierarchical structure with power centralized at the top and delegated to the lower institution through the policies which are drafted at the top and serve as the model for them to follow. The higher organization is represented on the lower organization (the schools) through the pastors, who appear to serve the interest of the higher organization to which they are specifically accountable. Selection of the institutional head is done to ensure that the beliefs and practices are fostered. The main organization controls the resources of the institution, which are obtained primarily from its membership, then disbursed to the schools as necessary.

Accumulating Power

The entities which influence an organization are both external and internal. In these religious institutions the external influencers are as powerful as the internal ones, not including the chief executive who is the major power broker in the structure. The

external influencers are categorized as the members of the congregations who fund and support the schools, the parents and guardians, and the board. Internal influencers, of course, would be the teachers, and students to a lesser degree. The principal, by virtue of his position, occupies the center and moderates what flows from inside to outside and vice versa. Heifetz (1994) noted that formal authorization brings with it the powers of an office, which means that once installed the principal is already vested with tremendous powers. What happens from that point is determined by the individual, his character, and expertise.

The principals in Schools X, Y, and Z were very careful to establish a good relationship with the board or individuals who appointed them. When asked who they are most likely to identify with for the purpose of job security, X and Z at first indicated the teachers, but later retracted and named the board and particularly the chairman. There was no doubt in Y's mind that the two pastors who appointed him deserved his cooperation and respect. It is this primary relationship which determines how credible the principal is with his board and the extent to which he is able to influence its members and carry out the mandates which they give him. Kanter (1981) suggested that power is accumulated in organizations based on the relationships or political alliances which exist. These connections are important in schools where performance measures are difficult.

Principal Y does not have an administrative board to contend with. "The education commission makes sure that the programs we are running within the school and the school itself are operating in a positive manner" (vol 2, p. 5). The commission divides itself into different committees to advise the principal in areas such as PR, finance, building, and grounds according to their expertise. He in turn advises them as to the

workability of their suggestions in the light of church policies to ensure that their recommendations do not "supersede what the bishop has already established as necessary" (vol 2, p. 6). As long as he conducts his operations within the framework of the policies established by the bishop, the pastors, and his immediate boss, he is permitted the latitude to function at will. The reason he gave for this is that "they want me to be comfortable and if I don't feel comfortable they are not going to force anything upon me" (vol 2, p. 46).

Principal X is answerable to his board for everything he does in the institution. He advises the organization's head on possible candidates for chairmanship (vol 1, p. 5) when that need arises. By policy, he is the secretary to the board, works with the chairman in establishing the criteria for selecting members to the board, and makes the agenda for its meetings. In essence, he determines what items are taken to the board for discussion, seeing he is the only member of the faculty who sits on the board. The organizational policy allows him much power by virtue of his position, which he may use to develop the institution or he may become a prey to the opportunities for misuse. However, by working closely with the chairman of the board and the various subcommittees which the board establishes, he is able to divest some of the responsibilities and have them accountable to him.

Principal Z's board plays a dominant role in the institutional operations. It votes on all matters that affect the school. The principal's role on the board is "strictly advisory" (vol 3, p. 8). The board is composed of men who by policy are elected by the 75 delegates from the churches who make up the Association (vol 3, p. 4). In order to impact the board the principal must draw on his expertise in educational matters and his

skill in communicating his ideas and clarifying issues for the board. He also works closely with the chairman and the administrative board, which meets frequently. He makes the agenda for the meetings. In these ways he is able to extend his informal authority beyond the limits of his job description.

Pfeffer (1981) suggested that one of the ways power is accumulated in organizations is through the control of information. Even though the board or individuals may appoint the principal, the individual with control over the flow of information is really the principal. He has information from the internal operations for the board and vice versa. In each of these schools the principal determines the matters which need to be taken to the higher level, what information to supply to the staff, and what to officially disseminate to the students, parents, and congregations. In a way, when the congregation is reached with information, a broad spectrum of stakeholders is covered since most persons who need information are members of these congregations. What these principals do is to communicate to them through newsletters or by visiting the congregations and making themselves available to answer questions.

One aspect of accumulating power has to do with the ability to engage in activities that use discretion or judgment (Kanter, 1981). The policies by which these institutions operate do not spell out the criteria specifically for applying every clause; therefore, the principal sometimes has to rely on discretionary powers in the areas of employment, allocation of resources, evaluation, and the day-to-day incidents that occur. Whatever method is used in any of the institutions, the decision of hiring and firing resides with the principal. Principal X initially gives the screening to a personnel committee in the institution, which he forms. As he stated: "It is true that my influence

on the final outcome is major" (vol 1, p. 32). Principal Y chooses whomever he wants and informs the pastors concerned. In the case of Principal Z, he submits the names he is considering to the district overseer, who reviews them and sends back a recommendation in order of preference. It is safe to say that the choice is greatly influenced by the principal's personal preference. The employee in return defers to this influencer who employed and oriented him/her to the job.

In similar fashion the termination of an employee is the prerogative of the principal. Unless a person has to be dismissed summarily for moral or doctrinal reasons, this is usually done at the end of the year after the principal has completed the evaluation process. Principals X and Y are the sole determinants of the teachers' tenure on staff based on their perception of the teachers' professional conduct and function within the framework of the school's policy. "I make the evaluation and I make the recommendation at that point as to whether someone is rehired or not and regraded or not" (vol 2, p. 21). This statement by Principal Y represents the approach of both principals. The board as a rule does not overrule the principals with their recommendations since they are the ones with first-hand knowledge of the faculty. Principal Z also has contingency powers in relating to the staff, subject to review by the board on which he does not have a vote but is able to influence the outcome of a matter. He delegates some of the responsibilities for teacher evaluation to the vice-principal who is involved in supervision (vol 3, p. 22). In Principal Z's conference with each member of staff at the end of the year, future assignments or notice of a non-renewal of contract are given.

The principals' greatest source of power lies in the position which they hold.

By appointing the principals the boards transfer the authority to run the schools to them. They are legitimized to influence, persuade, manipulate, or force the staff to carry out their mandates. Through their position they control the activities of the institution. They have the authority to employ, dismiss, evaluate, promote, recommend for tenure, and delegate responsibilities.

Ideology and Power

To understand the relationship between ideology and power in schools X, Y, and Z, one has to grasp the purpose for which these schools were established and the philosophy by which they operate, stated or implied. School X's reason for existence is to "provide quality education in an atmosphere conducive to the spiritual life of the student, . . . and to prepare for society individuals who are maturing [denomination X] Christians, and who are worthy, productive citizens" (vol 1B, p. 28). School Y states that "the school exists to provide a uniquely [denomination Y] educational experience for the mutual benefit of its students, parents, parish sponsors, and the community of which it is a part" (vol 2D, p. 2). School Z is providing "a Christ-centered confessionally [denomination Z] education to prepare young adults to serve as disciples of Christ (vol 3, p. 41). Each of these three institutions is training young people within the framework of the type of Christianity which it believes and practices.

Lukes (1974) questioned whether power is not exercised when people's perceptions and preferences are shaped in such a way that they accept their role in an existing order, or can see no alternative to it because they see the existing order as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficent.

The intent of these institutions, while teaching academics, is to indoctrinate their students so that they will perpetuate the beliefs and lifestyle of the denomination. Thus they attempt to create as far as possible a pure environment, where students can practice their faith, to the extent that it will affect the choices they will make later. In each case it was expressed that the students will, having gained an understanding of the mission of the church, carry out this mission even in their adult life.

The beliefs of the denomination serve as the funnel through which knowledge is conveyed to the students. In School X, its beliefs and traditions are rooted in Scriptures. "God is the source of true knowledge which He communicates through the inspired writings, the Holy Spirit, and nature" (vol 1, p. 30), and the process of education will continue beyond this life into eternity (vol 1, p. 35). The educational program is planned around this philosophical framework. School Y would not clearly commit to a particular posture as to the bedrock religious dogma which informs the curriculum, but asserted that "when we teach religion it is taught through the view of [denomination Y]" (vol 2, p. 6). The integration of faith into learning is not so much in the academic area as in the rituals and requirements. School Z, which places itself in the evangelical branch of Christianity, claims that "the teachings of the Holy Bible as confessed and practiced by [denomination Z] become the basis for all instructions as well as any discipline, or policies implemented" (vol 3F, p. 1). The statement of Principal X gives a good summary of the schools' ideological stance. "Our curriculum and culture are immersed into the knowledge of God and the values of His Kingdom" (vol 1, p. 3).

With the schools' ideological norm emerging from the church, these administrations develop ways of operationalizing their beliefs so that they are not lost on

students or teachers. Religious activities are a part of the schools' program and participation is mandatory for everyone. No one is exempted, not even the non-faith students or teachers. Interestingly, each of the schools reported that its religious programs have resulted in accessions to the faith by students (vol 1, p. 2; vol 2, p. 4; vol 3, p. 5). They all make the disclaimer that no one is forced to accept the church's teachings, but what else can be expected when students are placed in a situation where day after day they are surrounded with religious rites and practices. Each of the schools affirmed that if students never attended church, the religious services and influence encountered at school would be sufficient to enable them to be committed members of the faith (vol 1, p. 4; vol 2, p. 4; vol 3, p. 23).

Apart from the physical symbols of the faith which the students encounter daily, especially dominant in the case of School Y, they are mandated in all the schools to take a religion class each of the 4 years. This course is not necessarily a state requirement or a prerequisite for entry into college, but it is a requirement for graduation from these schools, and there is absolutely no exemption for any student. It is through these religion courses that the students gain an understanding of the Bible as taught by their church, and obtain their perspective for dealing with social issues that are important to the organization (vol 1, p. 4; vol 2, p. 8 ; vol 3, p. 10). In Schools X and Z these courses are taught by a pastor, whereas in School Y the individual must be especially trained in religion only at a denomination Y university.

Every morning and evening students participate in some form of worship. In addition, prayer is frequently said before the start of a class. Special days are set aside for worship services in Schools X and Y. School Z conducts a daily worship replete with

the trappings of church services. School X has a week set aside for special worship and prayer each quarter when "students and teachers gather to sing, pray, and share their faith, and listen to devotional talks" (vol 1, p. 2). School Y's Grade 9 is prepared for and accepted into church membership with the privilege of communion (vol 2, p. 8). Attendance at and participation in these religious activities is a norm for the schools. School Y's principal sums up the sentiments for all the schools best: "The exercise of faith is freely practiced, encouraged, and required of all who enter" (vol 2, p. 7). To make sure that students do not misunderstand their religious obligations, they are given a handbook with the necessary regulations (vol 1, p. 21; vol 2, p. 21) or required to attend a personal interview with the principal before admission (vol 3, p. 3). The consequences for missed religious activities are swift and may result in the student's separation from the school. In School X every worship session missed results in 2 demerits up to a maximum of 20 per quarter; if a student reaches that level he/she automatically incurs citizenship probation. At this stage the student is denied the privilege of attending all school activities except classes until he/she has reformed. In Schools Y and Z truants are given detention or suspension to encourage the reform process. The principals all give their reasons for these enforced requirements. Principal X stated: "Christian principles are the basis of our decisions and actions, and the ultimate goal of the school is to introduce students to Christ" (vol 1, p. 2). Principal Y declared: "We feel that this is our responsibility and one way in which we have influence over our children" (vol 2, p. 8). Principal Z added: "We use extreme patience in working with them because our objective is to keep students, not to get rid of them" (vol 3, p. 26).

The belief issue plays a significant role in the employment and assignment of

faculty and staff. Under no circumstance can a teacher work in School Z except he/she is certified by the denomination by taking the required courses at a denominational college. Teachers are expected to model the teachings of the Bible as taught by the denomination (vol 3, p. 2). Even the substitute teacher has to have training in the denominational college (vol 3, p. 29). School X adopts a similar posture (vol 1, p. 19), where the teacher has to be certified by the denomination. However, in extreme cases and in subject areas where students are least likely to be affected by the lack of an integration of faith and learning, a Christian person of high moral standing who is not of the faith may be asked to teach for a limited time until the preferred individual is secured. School Y has the most liberal stance on the issue, with 20% of its staff being non-faith teachers (vol 2, p. 37), who are not required to have denominational certification. Principal Y explained this stance: "Our values are pretty well set in stone so teachers who are [non-denomination Y] try not to do anything to offend" (vol 2, p. 38). The areas of instruction which are off limits for these non-faith teachers are religion and social issues such as abortion, sex education, and others which impinge on the development of a value system (vol 2C, p. 3).

Within these schools the principal assumes the position as the guardian of beliefs and accepts this as his sacred responsibility. Initially new teachers are given the necessary orientation and assigned to an experienced teacher for mentoring (vol 1, p. 5; vol 2, p. 37; vol 3, p. 23). As the teacher matures in the culture by exemplifying the doctrine and morality as prescribed by the denomination, the level of mentoring diminishes and he/she may later serve as a mentor for new recruits. Burbules (1986) argued that ideology, like other aspects of power, constitutes a system of belief and value that has real plausibility and coherence. It explains, reassures, and motivates, but it can

be hegemonic when it constitutes the unquestioned assumption of an organization. These organizations are not comfortable with an examination or questioning of the doctrines and beliefs. If a teacher were caught propagating ideas dissonant to the church's stance, the principals would not hesitate to relieve them of their responsibility. Their responses to the idea is insightful. Principal X said the individual would be terminated forthwith (vol 1, p. 14); Principal Y said the individual would be terminated and "all credits for previous service forfeited" (vol 2B, 1112.7); "immediate dismissal" (vol 1, p. 14) was Principal Z's response. Burbules (1986) continued that enduring ideologies are resilient enough to tolerate this level of discussion and disagreement.

In his reflections on the church and the exercise of power, Wilfred (1989) offered this suggestion. "If the church is to be an environment of freedom, truth, and communion, all such coercive powers should be absent in transmission of its doctrines, ethical orientations, and traditions" (p. 293).

Leadership or Power

The individual in charge of the institution is referred to in this study as the leader, whose major function is to motivate the people in the organization to accomplish its goal. According to Dufour (1991), this process is to be accomplished by persuasion and example wherein the leader influences the group to act in accordance with the leader's purpose or the shared purpose of all. In these religious organizations this task does not seem formidable in the light of Dufour's prescription since the leader's purpose and the group's purpose are not dissimilar. Gardener (1986) suggested that if there is going to be any positive outcome within the system (and leadership involves some

amount of power which has outcomes), it is dependent upon the interaction and interplay between the leader and the constituents or groups of the constituents.

Principal X was quite emphatic about the source of his authority to lead the school, claiming he believed God placed him in the position of leadership. "I am always conscious of the commission that I have received from Christ" (vol 1, p. 24). He is also cognizant of the people's trust which allows him to fulfill that mission, but the tension arises in his situation between the higher imperative and the expectations of the board which gives him the authority "to assign duties and expect results" (vol 1, p. 26). Even his attempt to share his power with others in the institution stops short, because ultimately he sanctions the final decision rather than allowing for a change from the status quo, which leadership demands.

According to Peters (1994), the person in leadership should be the main disorganizer, so that everybody else can participate in fixing the problem and, in the process, something new will happen. In his leadership role there is an obvious contradiction between the "rightness" of a situation and what is practiced: "I believe the power of my example should exceed the authority of my rank; example is the greatest tactic that I have used to lead and influence people" (vol 1, p. 31). Yet in essence the course he follows is ultimately the one he thinks best. "I share with the staff my vision of where the school should be heading; I am a firm believer in management by mission" (vol 1, p. 11). What happens here is that the management approach, which is basically power based, is used rather than a leadership approach, which involves giving up or sharing power that deepens staff commitment in the fulfillment of the mission.

Principal Y claimed to be "a servant of the organization to carry out its

mandates" (vol 2, p. 43); hence, his basic concern is to please his superiors, the source of his authority who ultimately validate his work. He sees himself as the leader of the institution, but his expressed approach to leadership is antithetical to the spirit of leadership. "I think every building needs a leader on the flow chart; it should show that way so that you do have someone to fall back on. It is my job to orchestrate everything that goes on" (vol 2, p. 43). Byron (1980) concluded that a leader enables followers to take the lead, but in Principal Y's case he does not allow a situation to unfold so that staff may learn from it. "A lot of times I provide students and teachers with other options that will help to alleviate situations rather than lead to more chaos" (vol 2, p. 45). His suggestion for this posture is that he has the expertise gained from his academic preparation and from working with other administrators (vol 2, p. 44). He thinks he must give time lines for accomplishing goals, rather than letting them establish such time lines and working with them to meet such deadlines.

The idea Principal Z conveyed is that he is a servant of the organization to carry out its mission in his style without forfeiting the ideals. His responsibility is to use his gifts to lead and guide what the people want for their high school (vol 3, p. 24). This idea rings with a tone of compromise and a lack of vision on the part of this leader. Foster (1989) said that leadership is change; without change there is no leadership. This individual in this situation needs to draw on his abilities to generate some changes in the structure. He claimed that the young staff requested the board to give them a principal of experience to lead the school; that is why he was called of God through the board to head this institution. Instead he reverted to the status quo approach to management: building curriculum, calling teachers, evaluating staff, and overseeing the physical plant (vol 3, p.

6). It cannot be said that he does not exercise leadership in persuading the board to vote his recommendations and convincing the staff to acknowledge and agree with his suggestions (even though it extends over a period of time). But this may be out of respect for his age, experience, and spirituality, which Forbes (1982) pointed out may be tools of power. Principal Y claimed that his basis for discipline is "the Word of God" (vol 3, p. 25), which means that, based on his interpretation, the Word of God may be an 'arm of mercy' or a 'sword to power.'

Too often in bureaucratic organizations followers are perceived as passive individuals who are not involved in decision making. But where leadership is evident, Pejza (1994) suggested that followers must be active participants, not just spectators; they must contribute to the goals of the organization. The principal has the authority and the right to command by reason of his office, to suspend students, and to assign teachers; this is power wielding. Leadership needs to be a function of the group where all are empowered to serve.

Power Display

In an insightful article on the theory of power, Burbules (1986) contended that the organization is a framework of power, especially bureaucratic organizations which are characterized by hierarchy, specialization, and relegated responsibility. Once bureaucracy is established, it constrains and facilitates activity for individuals at both the bottom and top of the network and defines roles in terms of what persons conceive of as their appropriate activities, goals, and relationships to others. Usually the head of the

organization becomes the legitimate source of dispatching and assigning activities to persons within the organization.

In the case of the schools studied, the power of the board is latent and is only displayed at the request of the principal who actually carries out the wishes of the board on a daily basis with the cooperation of the teachers. All three principals claimed to operate by the policies which are handed down to them by the organization (vol 1, p. 13; vol 2, p. 114; vol 3, p. 17). These policies direct them on how to relate to staffing, admission, and operational issues. Interestingly, all three principals reported very keen adherence to these policies and expected their staff and students to do the same. The schools' belief systems require total conformity by the teachers who must in turn extract the same from the students; there is no room for flexibility, and principals are quick to inform students of the consequences for non-compliance. Principal Z requires a pledge of allegiance before employing teachers (vol 3, p. 2). Principal X does not employ teachers who are not members of the faith (vol 1, p. 14), and Principal Y expects non-denomination Y teachers to respect that faith and practice. If teachers question the faith, they are brought up to the respective boards for review and, ultimately, dismissal.

Nouwen (1995) suggested that the most insidious, divisive, and wounding power is the power used in the service of God. In these schools the principals contend that they could not retain teachers or students in the institution who flout the principles of their beliefs. Nouwen argued that an expression of love would spare dissidents the wounds of religion, but perhaps these institutions are acting in the interest of saving the many who may be affected by the influence of the few. Principal X says when he has terminated a teacher on such grounds he buffers the situation by making a financial

settlement congruent with the individual's salary and years of service (vol 1, p. 14). Principal Y notes that all credit such a teacher earned is forfeited (vol 26, #112.7), and Principal Z, while noting that such a situation warrants immediate termination, said that the 'fallen teacher' is cushioned financially during the transition (vol 3, p. 21). It appears crucial that these institutions maintain their basic ideology for transmission to the next generation, and since one does not know the extent to which opposing ideas will go, their considered approach would be to snuff out the dissension before it seeps into the fibre of the organization.

In following these guidelines for operating the schools, Principals Y and Z claim to rely quite heavily on consensus with the staff, whereas Principal X feels that it is sometimes frustrating and unproductive to wait on consensus. Of course, none of these principals needs to elicit consensus from the staff if they operate strictly within the confines of their policy. They would need only to find ways of dealing with the relationship factor.

It happens whether the principal is aware or not that in many instances they fall victim to the display of 'power over' other individuals. For example, Principal X is not very gracious toward individuals who differ from, or who are somewhat uncooperative with, the administration. He would rather get rid of them because such individuals "make the system less efficient, because administration has to spend more energy on solving problems than on creating opportunities" (vol 1, p. 22). Principal Y has not appointed a vice-principal because when such an officer does not do things as he wants, it lessens his effectiveness. Even with teachers, when he completes his evaluation he determines whether or not they are rehired or regraded (vol 2, p. 21). Principal Z

also determines the fate of the teachers at the end of his annual evaluation. He uses this opportunity to confer with them and make adjustments in teacher assignments for the next year (vol 3, p. 22). Not even the financial secretary can make an expenditure before first getting every bill approved (vol 3, p. 34).

This "power over" idea passes down from the principal to the teachers to the students, admittedly to "develop their abilities and talents for the service of God, humankind, and the betterment of self" (vol 2a, p. 1). The principals personally preside over the admission process, making sure students understand that their acceptance is a privilege and not a right, and eliciting compliance with the school's policies, which the students must agree to by signing prior to admission. Principal X gives each student a handbook with the relevant aspects of the policy, which spells out acceptable behavior standards and students' physical appearance at school. There are three possible consequences for breaking the rules: citizenship probation, suspension, and expulsion, and fear of these consequences forces them to comply. "Disciplinary actions get their attention rather quickly," he said (vol 1, p. 15).

Principal Y conducts an admission conference with parents or guardians and students, during which time the school's purpose and objectives are explained. He then places the student on a probationary period for one semester and his/her conduct then will determine his/her future relationship with the school. These new students must contract to uphold all relevant standards and may receive detention, citizenship probation, suspension, or expulsion for failure to comply. Some of these are administered by classroom teachers, but the principal reserves the right to alter or issue further penalties as he deems necessary (vol 2, p. 11).

Principal Z also conducts initial interviews with incoming students and parents/guardians, outlining school rules and students' responsibilities. He is assisted by the teachers and a student council in administering disciplinary actions for misdemeanors. Again, he reserves the right to use his discretion to overrule cases, so that he can "walk the extra mile" with students (vol 3, p. 24).

Forbes (1983) identified what she claimed to be symbols that leaders and individuals in general used to claim power in religious organizations. They include pietistic language, ostentatious religious dress, public prayers, Bible study, visibility, and outward purity. A somewhat similar routine was observed in these principals regarding the time of arrival and departure from school, how meetings are conducted, the place they sit, and the location of and accessibility of their offices. Even though someone is assigned and paid for caretaker duties, the principals are the first ones to arrive at and the last to leave school. Principal Z gives a valid reason for leaving late since he teaches during the day and has to do administrative duties after school. Each principal conducts staff meetings in a lecture setting, where he sits in front of the staff. There is no collegial setting. Each begins with prayer, but as the issues are discussed, the importance of the prayer diminishes or has little bearing. Access to each of the principals is screened by a secretary who determines who sees him. In these ways the principals succumb to the traditional power patterns rather than creating fresh and dynamic approaches to their jobs.

French and Raven (1959) posited that position power is the primary focus of power in organizations, especially if it is sanctioned by legitimate authority. Cobb (1984) added that authority is further augmented when resources flow through the position. The

principals are at liberty to control the resources to their advantage. Some of these resources that became evident in the study were finances, rewards, and information. Principal X recommends teachers for promotion and tenure, which carries the benefit of job security. If in his evaluation he determines that a teacher's performance or lifestyle is unsatisfactory, the individual is denied tenure (vol 1, p. 19). He adopts the approach also that teachers need only to know that information about the institution which is necessary for them to do their jobs. Principal Y thinks he has the expertise to deal with people and that gives him the wisdom to determine the quality and quantity of information to disseminate to his staff. He decides, based on enrollment, whether the staff salaries are increased or not or other incentives granted, and that goes across the board for everyone (vol 2, p. 47). Principal Z claimed he shares all information with his colleagues except that which he considers "privileged." He chooses to discuss information in staff settings when he can elicit feedback and correct misunderstandings. He does not feel that any one individual should receive special recognition for meritorious work; this should be shared with the total staff in conjunction with the Scriptures.

Power for Service

There is no doubt that leaders have power; what they do with it and how they use it is the point of concern. Stott (1985) suggested that it is only safe in the hands of those who humble themselves to serve. Service appears to be the basis for the existence of those religious organizations whose leaders are given the responsibility to prepare the youngsters to carry out their mission.

Principal X underscores the point that his administrative responsibility is a call

from God who has empowered him to act on His behalf. This makes him aware of his responsibility to develop the institution in accordance with the commission from God (vol 1, p. 24). He abhors the idea of power, which he sees as an instrument of subjugation, choosing rather the cliche of 'believing in the power of love rather than the love of power'. Principal X observed that he operates from a position of servanthood which is preferred to a position of power. But even as he spoke of servanthood, he noted that the position carries some responsibilities which include hiring and firing. The 'servant principal' also pointed out that he coordinates decisions made by the board and has responsibilities to allocate funds, evaluate teachers, and recommend disciplinary measures. He suggested that everyone is responsible for the success of the school operations, but he serves as the coach who guides and deals with recommendations and suggestions from staff and board.

Principal X faces a conflict in balancing power and modeling for his followers the example of Christ (vol 1, p. 26). This he asserts he does by demonstrating the beliefs of the system, Christian love, prayer, and purity in lifestyle in the ways he relates to people and his work. He feels that the power of his example is his greatest tactic in serving and influencing followers; yet despite this noble idea, his leadership comes down to the fact that the mission of the organization is so important that he should share his vision with staff and insist that they work accordingly (vol 1, p. 110). Not much scope is given for their input in original plans, so the power of the principal's example is still uncertain. Within the context, however, the principal has established positive relationships with the teachers, and their commitment to the mission of the organization has served to motivate them to even greater service. Roberts (1987) agreed that a good

relationship is necessary to empower others to participate in the mission of an organization.

Principal Y sees himself as serving the organization through the leadership he provides. His expertise, he claims, is in "communicating with people what I expect of them and being a leader through example" (vol 2, p. 43). Principal Y did not specifically identify how he serves the organization as a Christian leader apart from his paid responsibility as the building administrator. Habeker (1990) observed that Christian leaders should willingly make meeting the needs of the people within the organization a very high priority. In this organization, it appears that mission and tradition take center stage to the needs of the people of the organization, or their needs are met in the services they are required to perform.

Principal Y pointed out that the faith requires each student to do 10 hours of free community service each semester, and this must be of value to whomever it is rendered. The service aspect is good, but the participants are neither encouraged nor influenced to participate voluntarily; they are ordered to do so. The greatest possible good cannot emerge under conditions of control (Roberts, 1987).

There is no doubt that Principal Y buries himself in his work and strives to serve his organization as best he can by accepting responsibility for everything that takes place in the school, but in so doing he does not share sufficient responsibilities with the staff. Roberts (1987) claimed that power is multiplied by sharing, not diminished. Principal Y asserts that in his relationship with staff and students he makes reference to the Christian approach in doing things, spending time with individuals to work through challenging situations. He feels he is justified in the occasional severe measures which he

adopts in dispensing discipline for inappropriate behavior, since Jesus did the same in the temple with the sellers.

One innovation which the principal influenced the staff to accept was the recognition of students who are not necessarily high academic achievers but who were observed rendering acts of kindness to other students and teachers. Teachers were not enthusiastic initially about the idea, but as they saw it occurring monthly and gauged students' responses, they later accepted the idea as a motivator to all the students who may be affirmed through academic or social activities.

Principal *Z* sees himself placed in his position to facilitate others in the Association to perform their duties more faithfully. The basis for his actions is found in the Word of God (vol 3, p. 44). He uses the Word of God to determine the approach he takes in difficult situations and as a disciplining guide. Because the members of the organization already accept the claims of the Scripture as binding upon their lives, it is not difficult to elicit compliance when punctuated with a "thus saith the Lord." He added that his approach to serving students is out of love and concern, and he may use discretionary powers to overrule a decision in favor of the student. He is very concerned about the effects of certain actions on the school and this may impact the decisions he takes.

If, for example, a student fails to conform with the school regulations, he would exhaust all possible avenues available before requiring the student's separation. He takes the student through counseling and then to the board for possible salvaging before recommending withdrawal. His philosophy is that patience should be exhausted and the student allowed the maximum possible opportunity to fall in line before expulsion

occurs (vol 3, p. 27). The principal can work only, however, within the parameters of the policy that guides the institution.

One of the ways that School Z feels it serves the students best is by mandating their participation in the religious life of the school. All students must take religion courses to further their knowledge of God's Word, attend the daily religious services, and participate in the prayers and worship activities. As in the other schools, this process leads some non-denominational students to accept the faith. This required participation, which parents must agree with, is considered necessary to aid the students' maturation in the Christian faith and to help them later become Christian leaders in the family, church, and society.

Principal Z refers to himself as a servant of the organization "using the gifts the Lord has given me to lead and guide what the large group of nearly 5,000 adults want for their school" (vol 3, p. 24). There is no question that he serves the organization faithfully, and they have confidence in his ability to do that. But to what extent is he the servant of his followers? Dupree (1989) urged that leaders serve their followers in the way that they remove the obstacles that prevent them from doing their jobs. They should enable their followers to reach their full potentials. Teachers at schools X, Y, and Z might never reach those potentials because of the accretions which confine behavior and the amount of time spent to keep students in line rather than encouraging them to maximize their potential. The principals, no doubt, see themselves as servant leaders, but evidently they are servants of the organization more than the people they are supposed to lead.

Summary

In this chapter, the results of the cross-case analysis, obtained from summarizing the personal differences and commonalities within the three case studies, were related. The schools show to a large extent great similarities in their structure and operations. The differences are minuscule and primarily structural, more in line with the religious preferences and philosophical outlook of each school.

The schools have some form of governance in place which is structured by the church hierarchy. Membership on this elected body is based on the individual's skill, expertise, and membership in the church which owns the school. The principal who is the CEO of the institution is represented on the board either as a voting or non-voting member, and the clergy is also represented. This body ensures that the institution operates in line with the policies of the church which owns the institution and administers it through its representatives.

The principals have tremendous power by virtue of their position. They determine the agenda for the boards, the items for discussion, and control the input the board has in the school's operation by virtue of the flow of information to them as well as to the staff. The principals do the hiring of teachers, evaluation, promotion, recommend increases or freezes in salary, and release of teachers, subject to action by the board, which is usually in accordance with the principal's recommendations. Where policies are not clear, principals use their discretionary powers which may either be in favor of or against the stakeholder.

The schools operate philosophically on the strength of their beliefs as practiced by the denomination. Every employee must accept and respect the ideological

posture, and students and parents must meet similar requirements. Students and teachers must participate daily in compulsory religious activities, and non-faith students are influenced at times to the extent of becoming proselytes. Religion classes are required of all students, who may experience severe consequences for not attending or participating in religious activities. It is expected that older faculty members must mentor newer ones so that they will understand the traditions and later serve as mentors themselves.

The principals lead out in the schools and claim to do so through persuasion and example. The extent to which followers are influenced is somewhat dubious since there is not much room for innovation within the system. The boundaries of their positions seem cast in concrete, and they invariably revert to the safe path where options are provided and orchestrated by the principal within the parameters of the faith. The leadership is not generative to include the followers at the most fundamental level; the status quo rules. The principals are quite creative in influencing the boards to adopt positions which are to their advantage, but stop short of burying themselves in the total needs of the organization and encouraging creative changes.

The lack of the use of leadership strategies does not mean that there is a fear of using power. Principals accrue certain responsibilities to themselves and loathe sharing with others. These duties include recruitment, assignment, assessment, and promotion of teachers. They use these opportunities to require compliance from teachers and students to the school's philosophy, and to dispensing disciplinary actions to those who flout the faith or the organization's standards. They are particularly strict on external behaviors because of the effects they will have on the organization. The principals' power displays are not always overt. They are sometimes subtly garbed in

religious vestments such as prayer before meetings, modeling a Christian example, and other activities where power is not distinguishable from a religious rite. The principals' most powerful weapon is the control of resources and information which they dispense at their discretion to stakeholders.

These religious schools declare that they exist for service and for training future leaders in the home, church, and society. In two of the schools, students are required to do active community service as part of that preparation. It is not very clear whether the ideals found in the mission statement are fully operationalized, and one of the main hindrances may be the ideological walls which appear impermeable.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study was prompted by an interest in power because of the vast potential for good, which is frequently misused, leaving people in fear and mistrust of individuals in leadership positions. Specifically the study investigated and described the use of power in three religious schools, hoping in the process to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon as it occurs in religious organizations. This chapter is a summary of the entire study, as well as the conclusions reached, and recommendations made.

Chapter 1 is the introduction to the study which gives basically an overview of what was done, with a rationale for the study and the methodology that was used. For the purpose of this study, power was defined as the ability to effect outcomes, that is, the actions and decisions that led to the particular outcome. It was studied against the background that since power pervades every aspect of life, then it is essential that there be an awareness of its usefulness and potential dangers; such knowledge is helpful against abuse.

To accomplish the purpose of the study the literature on power was reviewed and the relevant selections made. This review was necessary to identify the existing theories on power. These helped to interpret the data gathered in the field through the

case studies. Case studies were used because they are the method of choice in gathering data concerning a contemporary phenomenon as it occurs in the natural setting. The case study techniques used were interviewing, observation, physical evidence, and note taking. Through this process of triangulation, the method of collecting the data is strengthened, since the weaknesses in one strategy are balanced by the strengths of the other. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyze the data by coding and categorizing them in a case record, then making inferences from the data.

Chapter 2 laid the foundation for the rest of the study. Here the literature on power was reviewed and the important theories and data encountered were noted and discussed. The literature reviewed served as a framework to stimulate the questions that were asked in the field, and interpreting the research results. Power was looked at from an organizational standpoint, particularly as it affects religious organization. The literature defined power from a dispositional and episodic perspective. Dispositionally, it is seen simply as the potential or capacity to effect changes, and from an episodic viewpoint it is the ability to overcome resistance and achieve results. Synonyms such as authority, force, influence, control, persuasion, and manipulation were also used to mean power. Some of these synonyms such as authority, influence, and persuasion were viewed favorably, whereas force, manipulation, and control were viewed negatively.

Most scholars agreed that power emerges from a source that is critical to the functioning of the organization, from resources which are in short supply, and are not substitutable. These bases identified include resources, expertise, reputation, legitimacy, and beliefs. Some forms in which power displays itself in organizations are through

force, manipulation, control, persuasion, influence, and authority, and these flow mainly through the leadership position.

Three types of organizations are identified based on the internal characteristics of control: coercive, utilitarian, and normative organizations. Religious organizations are classified as normative, because the means of control are neither coercive nor remunerative. In organizations, power is a kind of exchange transaction for task accomplishment. Wherever there is delegation, negotiation, or leadership, there is power, since power in organization is essentially for making something happen. The owners, however, by virtue of the fact that they hold legal title to the organization and hire the CEO, have enormous power. They form the board where organizational leaders and external influencers can meet to discuss and control the actions of the organization.

It is through the CEO that the board manages the organization and substantively passes over organizational decisions to him/her, effectively making him/her the single most powerful individual with legal prerogatives and access to both internal and external influencers. The formal power which he has may extend to the mediation of rewards or be coercive. The extent to which he/she is able to do this is dependent on the operators and the level of their skills and expertise, since they (the operators) can use their expertise to become powerful influencers within the organization, and bring to life the system of politics where insiders seek to control others in a bid to fulfill their needs. Political activities are viewed with suspicion in organizations, since they occur in situations of uncertainty, and the intent really is to exploit others.

Etzioni (1961) cited religious organizations as an example of normative organizations wherein control is achieved primarily through the manipulation of symbolic

and moral power. Authority is legitimized power, the official sanction to perform certain directives, and this is the key element for religious leaders. In their leadership position they are divinely sanctioned and validated by the people of the organization so they are doubly empowered to make policies, legislate, and require support for their actions. Despite this concept, power is not viewed favorably in religious organizations because of the perception people have that power corrupts, and religious leaders have not done much to eradicate that perception.

Religious leaders face the challenge of avoiding the abuse of power which is not necessarily from a malevolent motive, but from insufficient knowledge of the sources and forms of power. As they shape people's perceptions to accept the order of things, dispense privileges, disclose information to the organization, determine whom to keep on committees, and ways of responding to opposition, they use prayer, policies, and Scriptures in positive ways.

Christian leaders are constantly urged to adopt an approach to power which is devoid of coercion, manipulation, or other hurtful behaviors. Greenleaf (1982) recommended the servant model, which gives the highest priority to meeting the needs of people as the only model for Christian leaders. The rationale here is that when the leaders are truly serving people, they will create opportunity and alternatives for followers to build their own autonomy. They will use their power to persuade, impart new values, and effect organic change, recover alienated people, and build an institution committed to service.

Chapters 3-5 are case study reports which describe the use of power as found in the natural settings of three high schools operated by religious denominations in

Michigan. The questions asked were largely based on the theories that were identified in chapter 2. The schools were selected because their basic operations were not dissimilar to the religious denominations which own and supervise them. They are required to perform religious functions consistent with the beliefs of the parent organizations and they allowed for easy access to the principals who are the heads of the institutions.

The principals were interviewed about the institutional structure, function, and operation, as well as their role and views on power. Their responses revealed that they are still unaware of some of the sources and forms of power and their effects on the people of the organization. Much time was spent in observing the setting and the principals in their daily routine. Data were also gathered from such documents as policy manuals, teachers' and students' handbooks, and other available relevant materials.

The principals are all active members of the churches that operate the schools and that structured governing bodies of their members to oversee them. These church bodies bequeath the power to the boards which in turn bequeath it to the principals who use the policies and their knowledge of the denominational culture to run the schools. They and their staffs, who must also be committed to the faith, operate the school within the confines of the church's philosophical and ideological stance. There is no room for ideological flexibility, since that could possibly erode the very reason for which the organization established the school, where their children may be educated in an environment in which they are free to learn about and exercise their faith. The stakeholders appear contented with the state of affairs as they are, and the schools continue to carry on the mission for which they exist in the way they have always operated.

In chapter 6 the cross-case analysis of the findings of power in Schools X, Y, and Z was done. Essentially similarities and differences which exist across the cases were identified and described. The institutions reflect far more similarities in their structure and functions than differences. These three institutions are arms of a larger and more centralized church organizational structure. They have little independence and must operate by such organizational policies which are applicable to them, and the specific ones which they adopt and obtain approval for.

The case studies show that the organizations are by nature bureaucratic in which power flows down, as the directives and operational format flow and are expected to be followed dogmatically. To maintain their grip on the lower institutions these churches require boards to be made up of church members, principals to be chosen who are avowed members of the church, and teachers also. These schools are also well endowed with the presence of the clergy, whose position on the board is guaranteed by policy.

The principals use their powerful positions to control the hiring, firing, evaluating, allocating of resources, assigning of workloads, recommending tenure and regrading matters to the board, which usually accepts their recommendations since they are knowledgeable of the internal operations of the school.

These schools indicate in their statement of purpose that they exist primarily to provide a denominational education for the youth of their church, and even though they open enrollment to a small percentage of non-faith students, they are expected to respect and follow the teachings, to the extent where some have become proselytes. The schools show ample evidence of the Christian faith displayed in the buildings: they use

Scriptures from a denominational perspective, and in the case of School Y, tradition also, to interpret their understanding of knowledge and as the framework of reference for their teaching. The church religious leaders participate in the religious instructions, conducting worships and other retreats and renewal sessions for both staff and students. Religious instructions, and any other instructions which in any way influence the spiritual and social outlook, must be conducted by a teacher of the faith. Errant ideas are discouraged by relieving the offending party of his/her position.

The principals view themselves as leaders of the institution rather than power brokers, but the structure of their organization and the nature of their positions make it difficult for them to exercise the type of leadership where followers can take certain initiatives and experiment with ideas. The ways in which goals are achieved are spelled out; curricula are approved by a higher body before implementation; and these are purportedly to maintain unity in the organization and to accomplish its commitment to mission. There was no indication that these efforts were intended to stultify the initiatives of the operators. Thus when principals enforce policies for staff and staff extend the same to students, it is for the purpose of discouraging offenders and eliciting compliance. As one principal noted that even when a teacher has to separate from the school because his or her conduct is contrary to the school's expectations, he/she does not view this as an exercise of power but as the school upholding its standards.

The whole matter of power for service is something that the principals are still trying to conceptualize and make operational. They see the power of their example as the way of modeling for their staff and students, but this example is largely in the form of visible external behavior, which is good, yet insufficient to counter the other forms of

power which they display every day consciously or unconsciously. They see themselves as servants of the people, but the power they display still has them disposing privileges; they are not yet ready to challenge existing customs for the benefit of their followers as Greenleaf (1982) suggested servant leaders should do. Another way power for service is portrayed is in using organizational means to prepare others for service, so that the system will perpetuate itself. There are occasional deeds of love and mercy which reward others for good service to the institution, but this falls short of a long-term commitment to a principle of empowering the people of the organization.

Conclusion

Power is without doubt a significant feature of organizational life, and is necessary for achieving organizational goals. In these religious institutions the outcomes are realized in the extent to which the stated mission is accomplished and the commitment of the members to accomplishing that mission. Many factors become significant as the individuals in the relationship are motivated, influenced, persuaded, forced, or manipulated to accomplish such tasks. Some of these factors are inherent in the conclusions reached, based on the study of Schools X, Y, and Z.

These religious institutions are characterized by systems of hierarchy, relegation, and delegation. From this study it is evident that the primary power relationship in these schools, which are bureaucratic in nature, is through delegation. The main church organizations control these subsidiary organizations through boards, which in turn delegate the responsibility to principals who with their staffs run the school. The structure is geared to ensure that the higher organizations have control of the schools

through their representation on the boards, their policies, and ownership of the institution. There is little independence for them to operate in a different way if they chose to do so. In the schools the CEO invariably opts to maintain the hierarchical structure in its rigidity with decisions and policies originating from the top and reaching the bottom as mandates. The representation and participation of the operators in the organization at the decision-making level are at best superficial and so sparse that any impact would be insufficient to make significant changes.

Authority, which is legitimized by the person, position, and performance, is the most evident form of power in these institutions. The structure of the organization lends much to the person who occupies the chief position since he obtains the support of the board and the higher organization and can command the respect of the workers of the institution. Another crucial factor is that the stakeholders have direct representation on the board, which is usually supportive of the principal, and this enhances his authority. The factor that can diminish the principal's authority in this situation, especially with his staff, is his performance or his character.

In addition to the need for authority to be recognized by followers, it is further consolidated by the flow of resources through the position. It is the principal who dispenses rewards, determines who is invited to meetings, who has access to the top, and who issues orders to subordinates. In these religious schools authority is usually unquestioned, since when properly obtained it is associated with divine designation or "a call." Certain behaviors also help to cement the leaders' authority and acceptance in the institution: prayer before a task is attempted, use of Scripture, frequent reference to divine guidance, leaders' attendance at church, and communication with stakeholders.

The schools require unwavering adherence to their beliefs and values which serve as the basic framework through which students receive their academic instruction, and for the employment of teachers. Individuals who do not conform with the required religious expectations, or whose lifestyle or influence impacts the institutions negatively, are relieved of their position and, in the case of students, are expelled. The institutions maintain what may be considered a hegemonic control over ideological matters, because the intent of these organizations is to indoctrinate to guarantee their survival.

There is a high potential for abuse of power in religious organizations because of their structure, policies, system of authority, and system of ideology. The bureaucratic structures in these religious institutions foster delegation of duties, which is done by the principal. These religious institutions, with their particular belief system, circumscribe behaviors, conduct, and adherence to faith in ways which do not allow room for flexibility and force the principals to carry out the mandates of the policy. Another way in which power is abused is through what Forbes (1983) referred to as the elements of the Christian life, in which leaders use the Scriptures and prayer as a facade to cover their real intentions. These features are used frequently when students are prayed for before discipline is dispensed, and before meetings, even though prayer did not affect the outcome of the meeting. The Scripture is used to maintain the status quo and elicit obedience for those in authority. The required participation of non-faith students in religious practices resulting in conversions may be seen as another way in which the institutions use their power to obtain compliance.

There were no innovative ways in which power was utilized to enhance the organization and facilitate the accomplishment of its mission. I did not observe any fresh

approach worthy of modeling; all schools used the same mundane approach of force-feeding individuals with doses of a denominational perspective on Scriptures, values, customs, and mores, with the hope that they will stay committed and not question the basic assumptions of the belief system or challenge the structure.

The literature suggested the servant approach to power as that which places religious organizations in an advantageous position to accomplish their mission and to create opportunities and alternatives for individuals to choose to build autonomy. Servant power effects organic change as people see leaders doing what they want them (the followers) to do. They do not require anything of followers that they are not willing to do themselves, and they are prepared to sacrifice for and protect their followers even with their lives. There was not much evidence of the portrayal of servant leadership in the schools. The idea is known to the principals and they would want to see themselves as servant leaders, but their priority to the organizations they serve--to carry out the mission and maintain the tradition--takes precedence over the needs of the individual which servant power requires.

Recommendations for Further Study

This was not an exhaustive study of power in religious organizations, since it focused only on one segment, the schools. The study of power may be viewed from many different ways, and this study is just an initial step in looking at the phenomenon in religious settings from the perspective of the principals. Since a knowledge of power is a necessary safeguard against abuse, further study could be conducted to:

1. Involve teachers and identify their perception of power, to see the extent to which this differs from principals' perceptions

2. Determine students' and/or parents' response to power, since they are for the most part at the receiving end and not involved in the decision making and enforcement of the school's policies

3. Expand the study to other areas of religious organizations other than schools to determine to what extent the power structure impacts the functioning of that entity

4. Further examine the effect of ideology on control in the organization

5. Determine how authority, which is the most visible form of power, could be used to promote more enabling/democratic forms of power

6. Determine possible obstacles that prevent religious organizations from using servant power in more practical ways.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

LETTERS

Patrick L. Allen
500 Garland Ave Apt G7
Berrien Springs
MI 49103

January 7, 1996

Dear Principal

I am a graduate student at Andrews University School of Education and I am presently conducting a research project on Power in Religious Organization, as part of the requirement for completing my degree in Educational Administration and Supervision, and I need to be able to conduct part of that research in a natural setting such as your school where the phenomenon occurs.

For the purposes of the research I will need to interview you to obtain your perspectives on power as you perceive it to affect or not affect your school, and observe you as you carry out your basic leadership function in the institution.

I am seeking your kind permission to conduct this study in your institution, and I promise that I will work with you and at your convenience so that there will be minimal intrusion if any at all in your program. I wish to assure you also that the materials gathered for this study will be strictly for the study and your identity will remain anonymous.

Thanks for your help with this project

Sincerely

Patrick L. Allen
Graduate Student
Andrews University
Berrien Springs
MI 49104

Mr. Patrick Allen
500 Garland Ave. #G7
Berrien Springs, MI 49103

Dear Patrick:

In response to your visit with me and your subsequent letter, I am granting permission to you to interview and observe me as you collect data for your research. I hope that this activity will be mutually beneficial to us as and that the information you gather and analyze will also be beneficial to the profession that we so dearly esteem.

Best of everything as you work towards the completion of your studies at AU.

Sincerely,

Principal

APPENDIX B

AGREEMENT FORM

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Agreement between _____ (the participant) and

_____ (the researcher).

I agree to participate in an ethnographic study as fully and as completely as is possible and convenient for me. I recognize the following conditions:

The period of time required is a minimum of 2-5 months, usually in one day a week settings. The interview periods will be scheduled to satisfy the needs of both participants.

The location of the interviews will also be determined jointly and may include either one-on-one interviewing or the researcher accompanying the informant on the job or whatever situation is related to the context of the interview. The time and location of each interview period will be agreed upon mutually.

I understand that the initial and primary purpose of the ethnographic interview is for the completion of a study the researcher must do to fulfill the requirements of a degree. I consent to the use of information gathered in the interview in both the report the researcher must write and in any discussions of the process and its findings with the professors concerned. I understand that the information given will be treated with confidentiality.

I understand also that if the material gathered in the interview is used in any other way, the researcher will explain how and why it will be used and will do so only after I have given consent.

I understand that my role as informant means that I should assume the researcher has no knowledge of the particular culture that is being studied. I can expect questions the answer to which may seem obvious. I may be asked the same question several times to enable the researcher to gain the broadest perspective in understanding my responses.

I participate in this interview process with no expectation of financial remuneration, unless the researcher seeks and receives my permission to submit the material used for publication and agrees to share any payment.

_____ _____

Participant *Date*

_____ _____

Researcher *Date*

REFERENCE LIST

REFERENCE LIST

Abdullah, S. M. (1995). The power of one: Authentic leadership in turbulent times. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers.

Adams, W. F., & Bailey, G. D. (1989). Principal leadership behaviors: Making a choice. NASSP Bulletin, 73A, 55-61.

Argyris, C. (1976). Increasing leadership effectiveness. New York: Wiley.

Bacharach, S. B., & Lawler, E. J. (1981). Power and politics in organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Barnard, C. I. (1948). The functions of the executive. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Barraclough, R. A., & Stewart, R. A. (1992). Power and control: Social science perspectives. In V. P. Richmond and J. C. McCroskey (Eds.), Power in the classroom (pp. 1-18). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bass, B. N. (1981). Stogdill's handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research. New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. N., & Avolio, B. J. (1993). Improving organizational effectiveness through transformational leadership. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bassett, W. P. (1991). Classroom implementation of cooperative learning: Qualitative case studies of three early elementary teachers. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

Becker, E. L. (1965, March). Church and power conflicts. Christianity and Crisis, 26-36.

Beitz, G. (1989, January). Pastor power? Ministry, 54, 10-12.

Bennis, W. (1989). On becoming a leader. New York: Addison-Wesley.

Bennis, W., & Nanus, B. (1985). Leaders: The strategies for taking charge. New York: Harper & Row.

Berg, B. L. (1989). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bierstedt, R. (1950). An analysis of social power. American Sociological Review, 15, 730-736.

Blank, J. (1988). The concept of power in the church, new testament perspective. Concilium, 197, 3-12.

Block, P. (1993). Stewardship: Choosing service over self-interest. San Francisco: Berret-Koehler.

Bogdan, R. C., & Bilkin, S. K. (1982). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bruce, B. (1992). Images of power. London: Kogan Page.

Burbules, N. C. (1986, December). A theory of power in education. Educational Theory, 36(2), 3-13.

Burt, R. (1977). Power in social typology. Social Science Research, 6, 1-83.

Byron, W. J. (1980). The purpose and nature of leadership. New Catholic World, 205-208.

Campbell, D.T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. Psychological Bulletin, 56(2), 81-105.

Campolo, A., Jr. (1988). The power delusion. Wheaton, IL: Victor Books.

Cangemi, J. P. (1992, Summer). Some observations of successful leaders and their use of power and authority. Education, 112(4), 499-505.

Cartwright, D. (1959). Studies in social power. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research.

Cartwright, D. (1965). Influence, leadership and control. In J. G. March (Ed.), Handbook of organizations (pp. 1-47). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Clarke, B. R. (1972). The organizational saga in higher education. Administrative Science Quarterly, 178-184.

Cobb, A. T. (1984). An episodic model of power: Toward an integration of theory and research. Academy of Management Review, 9(3), 482-493.

Coll, R. (1986, Summer). Power, powerlessness, and empowerment. Religious Education, 81(3), 412-423.

Collins Concise Dictionary. (1982). London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd.

Colson, Charles. (1985). Who speaks for God? Westchester, IL: Crossway Books.

Colson, C. (1990, February 5). The pedestal complex. Christianity Today, 96.

Covey, S. R. (1991). Principle-centered leadership. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Crabtree, B. E., & Miller, W. L. (1992). Doing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Cress, J. A. (1995, May). The many faces of power. Ministry, 68, 26.

Dahl, R. A. (1957). The concept of power. Behavioral Science, 2, 201-215.

Dayton, E. R., & Engstrom, T. W. (1982). The art of management for Christian leaders. Waco, TX: Word Books.

Dederen, R. (1995, May). The church: Authority and unity. Ministry, 68, (supp.), 2-16.

Denzin, N. K. (1978). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Dufour, R. P. (1991). The principal as staff developer. Bloomington, IN: National Educational Service.

Dupree, M. (1989). Leadership is an art. New York: Doubleday.

Engstrom, T. W. (1979). The Christian executive. Waco, TX: Word Books Publishers.

Etzioni, A. (1961). A comparative analysis of complex organizations. New York: Free Press.

Etzioni, A. (1961). Complex organizations. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Fairholm, G. W. (1993). Organizational power politics: Tactics in organizational leadership. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Fee, G. (1989, December). Laos and leadership under the new covenant. Crux, 7-13.

Focault, M. (1980). Power and knowledge: Interview and other writings. Edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.

Forbes, C. (1983). The religion of power. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House.

Ford, L. (1991). Management, a biblical approach. Wheaton, IL: Victor Books.

Foster, R. (1985). Money, sex, and power. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Foster, W. F. (1989). Toward a critical practice of leadership. In J. Smyth (Ed.), Critical perspectives on educational leadership. London: Fulmer.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Seabury Press.

French, J. R. (1956). A formal theory of social power. Psychological Review, 63, 181-194.

French, J. R. (1993). A formal theory of social power. New York: Irvington.

French, J. R. P., & Raven, B. (1959). The bases of social power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), Studies in Social Power. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research.

Frost, P. J., & Hayes, D. C. (1979). Organizational functioning in a cross-culture perspective. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.

Frost, P. J., Mitchell, V. E., & Nord, W.R. (1982). Organizational reality; Reports from the firing line. New York: Scott, Foresman.

Galbraith, J. K. (1983). The anatomy of power. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Gardener, J. W. (1986). Leadership and power. Washington, DC: Leadership Studies Program, Independent Sector.

Giddens, A. (1979). Central problems in social theory. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilman, G. (1962). An inquiry into the nature and use of authority. In M. Haire (Ed.), Organizational theory and industrial practice, pp. 105-42. New York: Wiley.

Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: a preliminary statement. American Sociological Review, 25, 161-178.

Grandy, J., & Murray, V. V. (1980). The experience of workplace politics. Academy of Management Journal, 23(2), 237-51.

Greenleaf, R. K. (1977). Servant leadership: A journey into the nature of legitimate power and greatness. New York: Paulist Press.

Greenleaf, R. K. (1982). The servant as religious leader. Peterborough, NH: Windy Row Press.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). Effective evaluation. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Habeker, E. B. (1990, December). Power, authority, and Christian organizational leadership: A call for followership. Crux, 10-18.

Hagberg, J. (1984). Real power. Minneapolis: Winston.

Harsanyi, J. C. (1962). Measurement of social power, opportunity costs and the theory of two-person bargaining games. Behavioral Science, 4, 67-80.

Hasking, D. M. (1988). Organizing, leadership, and skillful process. Journal of Management Studies, 25, 147-166.

Heifetz, R. A. (1994). Leadership without easy answers. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hemphill, J. K., & Coons, A. E. (1957). Development of the leader behavior questionnaire. In R. M. Stogdill and A. E. Coons (Eds.), Leader behavior: Its description and measurement(pp. 6-38). Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University.

Hershey, P., & Blanchard, K. (1977). Measurement of organizational behavior: utilizing human resources. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Hirschman, A. O. (1970). Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hogan, R.; Curphy, Gordon J.; Hogan, J. (1994). What we know about leadership: Effectiveness and personality. American Psychologist, 49, 493.

Hollander, E. P., & Offermann, L. R. (1990). Power and leadership in organizations. American Psychologist, 45(2), 179-189.

Houle, C. O. (1984). Patterns of learning: New perspectives on life span education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Jacobs, T. O., & Jacques, E. (1990). Military executive leadership. In K. E. Clark and M. B. Clark (Eds.), Measures of leadership (pp. 281-295). West Orange, NJ: Leadership Library of America.

Jacobsen, W. (1992, Winter). A case of mistaken ministerial identity. Leadership, 92-95.

Johnson, D., & VanVonderen, J. (1991). The subtle power of spirrtual abuse. Minneapolis, MN.: Bethany House Publishers.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). Men and women of corporations. New York: Basic Books.

Kanter, R. M. (1981). Power, leadership and participatory management. Theory Into Practice, 20 (4), 221-222.

Kanter, R. M., & Stein, B. A. (1979). Life at the top: The struggle for power. In R.M. Kanter & B.A. Stein (Eds.), Life in Organizations (pp. 3-20). New York: Basic Books.

Kanter, R. M., & Stein, B. A. (1981). Leadership, and participatory management power. Theory into Practice 20(4), 219-224.

Kanter, R. M., & Stein, B. A. (1983). Power failure in management circuits. In Executive success: Making it in management. Ed. E. G. C. Collins. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Kaplan, A., & Laswell, H. D. (1950). Power and society. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kast, F. E., & Rosenzweig, J. E. (1972). General systems theory: Applications for organizations and management. Academy of Management Journal, 15, 447-465.

Kast, F. E., & Rosenzweig, J. E. (1974). Organization and management. New York: McGraw Hill.

Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1978). The social psychology of organization, 2nd. ed. New York: John Wiley.

Kipnis, D. (1976). The powerholders. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kipnis, D., Schmidt, S., & Wilkinson, J. (1980). Interorganizational influence tactics: Explorations in getting one's way. Journal of Applied Psychology. 65, 440-452.

Lacayo, R. (1996, June). You've read about who is influential, but who has the power? Time, 147(25), 80-84.

Laswell, H. D., & Kaplan, A. (1950). Power and society. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Lukes, Steven. (1974). Power: A radical view. London: Macmillan.

Lunenburg, F. C., & Ornstein, A. C. (1996). Educational administration: Concepts and practices. New York: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Madison, D. L., Allen, R. W., Porter, L. W., Renwick, P. A., & Mayes, B. T. (1980). Organizational politics: An exploration of manager's perceptions. Human Relations, 33, (2), 455-74.

Mahler, W. R. (1975). Structure, power, and results: How to organize your company for optimum performace. Homewood, IL: Dow-Jones-Irvin, Inc.

Martin, N.H., & Sims, J. H. (1974). Power tactics. In D.A. Kolb, I. M. Rubin, and J. M. McIntire, eds., Organizational Psychology: A Book of Readings (pp. 177-83). Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall.

Mathison, S. (1988). Why triangulate? Educational Researcher 17(2), 13-17.

May, R. (1972). Power and innocence: a search for the source of violence. New York: Norton.

McCall, M. W., Jr. (1978). Power, influence, and authority: The hazards of carrying a sword. Greensboro, NC: Center for Creative Leadership.

McCall, M. W., Jr. (1979). Power, authority, and influence. In Organizational Behavior. Ed. S. Kerr. Columbus, OH: Grid.

McClelland, D. C. (1970). The two faces of power. Journal of International Affairs. 24 (1), 29-47.

Mechanic, D. (1962). Sources of power of lower participants in complex organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly. 1, 349-364.

McKenna, D. (1989). Power to follow, grace to lead. Dallas, TX.: World Books.

Merriam, S. B. (1988). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Michener, H. A., & Burt, M. R. (1975). Components of 'authority' as determinants of compliance. Journal Personnel Psychology. 31, 606-614.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). Qualitative data analysis: A source book of new methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Miller, C. (1987). Leadership. Colorado Springs, CO: Nav-Press.

Mintzberg, H. (1983). Power in and around organizations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, Inc.

Musvosvi, J. (1991, Mar). Servant leader: the model and the method. Ministry, 64, 8-11.

Newman, J. D. (1985, June). Wise rule in the church. Ministry, 58, 25.

Newman, J. D. (1991, Mar). Servant leadership and Robert Greenleaf. Ministry, 64, 12-14.

Noblit, G. W. (1993, Spring). Power and caring. American Educational Research Journal. 30(1), 23-38.

Noddings, N. (1988). Mapping the moral domain. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nouwen, H. J. M. (1989). In the name of Jesus. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company.

Nouwen, H. J. M. (1995). The path of power. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company.

Nyberg, D. (1981). Power over power. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Oswald, R. M. (1981). Power analysis of a congregation. Washington, DC: Alban Institute, Inc.

Patchen, M. (1974). The focus and basis of influence on organizational decisions. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 11, 195-221.

Pejza, J. P. (1994). Lead, follow, or get out of the way. Transformational leadership. Eric Document. 375 496.

Perrow, C. (1972). Complex organizations: A critical essay. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

Peters, T. (1989). In search of excellence--a talk with Tom Peters. NASSP Bulletin, 72, 36-45.

Peters, T. (March, 6,1994). Mess as message contains lessons. Ventura (CA) Star Free Press, E6.

Perrow, C. (1972). Complex organizations: A critical essay. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1972). Information control as a power resource. Sociology, 6. 187-204.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1973). The Politics of Organizational Decision Making. London: Tavistock.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1975) . Toward a political theory of organization invention. Human Relations, 28, 191-208.

Pfeffer, J. (1981). Power in organizations. Marshfield, MA: Pitman.

Pfeffer, J. (1992). Managing with power: Politics and influence in organizations. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Pfeffer, J. & Salancik, G. R. (1974). Organizational decision making as a political process: The case of a university budget. Administrative Science Quarterly, 19, 135-151.

Plott, C. R., & Levine, M. E. (1978). A model of agenda influence on committee decisions. American Economic Review, 68, 146-60.

Porter, L. W., Allen, R. W., & Angle, H. L. (1981). The politics of upward influence in organizations. In B. Straw (Ed.), Research in Organizational Behavior (pp. 109-149). Greenwich. CT: JAI Press.

Powers, B. (1979). Christian leadership. Nashville, TN: Broadman Press.

Presthus, R. V. (1960). Authority in organizations. Public Administration Review, 20, 86-91.

Prior, D. (1987). Jesus and power. Downer's Grove, IL: Intervaristy Press.

Rauch, C. F., & Behling, O. (1984). Functionalism: Basis for an alternate approach to the study of leadership. In J. G. Hunt, D. M. Hosping, C. A. Schriesheim, and R. Stewart (eds.), Leaders and managers: International perspectives on managerial behavior and leadership (pp. 45-62). Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press.

Reimer, D. (1987, Fall). How shall we then lead: Preferred powers in the kingdom community. Direction, 16, 16-28.

Roberts, D. B. (1987, Winter). Power and servanthood: Emerging notions for church leadership. Encounter, 48(1), 83-91.

Russell, B. (1938). Power. London: Allen & Unwin.

Salanick, G. R., & Pfeffer, J. (1977). Who gets power and how they hold on to it: A strategic contingency model of power. Organizational Dynamics, 5, 3-21.

Selznick, A. (1957). Leadership in administration. A sociological interpretation. New York: Harper & Row.

Shriver, D. (1979, April-May). Theology of power. Church and Society, 69, 8-19.

Siebel, W. (1988). The exercise of power in today's church. Concilium, 197, 39-49.

Simon, H. A. (1957). Models of man. New York: Wiley.

Spears, L. C. (Ed.). (1995). Reflections on leadership. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Stainback, S., & Stainback, W. (1988). Understanding and conducting qualitative research. Dubuque, IA: Kendal Hunt Publishing Company.

Stake, R. E. (1978). The case study method in social inquiry. Educational Researcher, 7(2), 5-7.

Stogdill, R. M. (1974). Handbook of leadership: A survey of literature. New York: Free Press.

Stott, J. (1985). Involvement: Social and sexual relationships in the modern world. Vol. II. Old Tappen, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Szafran, R. F. (1976). The distribution of influence in religious organizations. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 15(4), 339-349.

Tannenbaum, R., Weshcler, I. R., & Massarik, F. (1961). Leadership and organization. New York: McGraw Hill.

Taylor, S. J., and Bogdan, R. (1984). Introduction to qualitative research methods. (2nd ed.) New York: Wiley.

Tedeschi, J. T., & Bonoma, T. V. (1972). Power and influence: An introduction. In J. T. Tedeschi (Ed.). The Social Influence Process. Chicago: Aldine.

Therborn, G. (1980). The ideology of power and the power of ideology. London: Verso.

Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). The social psychology of groups. New York: Wiley.

Toffler, A. (1990). Power shift. New York: Bantam Books.

Tracy, D. (1990). The power pyramid: How to get power by giving it away. New York: Morrow.

Walker, R. (1980). The conduct of educational case studies: Ethics, theory and procedures. In W. B. Dockerrell and D. Hamilton (eds.). Rethinking Educational Research. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., & Sechrest, L. (1966). Unobtrusive measures. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Weber, M. (1947). The theory of social and economic organization. New York: Free Press.

Weber, M. (1968). On charisma and institution building. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Webber, R. (1975). Management: Basic elements of managing organizations. Homewood, IL: Irwin.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary. (1961). Springfield, Ill: Merriam-Webster Inc.

White, E. (1952). Education. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association.

White, J., & Blue, K. (1985). Healing the wounded. Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press.

Wilfred, F. (1989). A power that draws: Reflections on the church and the exercise of power. Sedos Bulletin, 9, 287-297.

Wrong, D. (1979). Power: Its forms, bases and uses. New York: Harper & Row.

Yin, R. K. (1989). Case study research: Design and methods. London: Sage Publications.

Yoder, J. H. (1973). Jesus and power. Ecumenical Review, 25, 447-454.

Younger, G. D. (1968, January). Church and the transfer of power. Social Action. (U.S.), 5-14.

Yukl, G. A. (1994). Leadership in organizations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Yukl, G., & Falbe, C. M. (1990). Influence tactics in upward downward and later influence attempts. Journal of Applied Psychology, 75, 132-140.

Yukl, G., Lepsinger, R., & Lucia, A. (1992). Preliminary report on development and validation of the influence behavior questionnaire. In K. Clarke, M. B. Clark and D. P. Campbell (Eds.). Impact of leadership (pp. 417-427). Greensboro, NC: Center for Creative Leadership.

Yukl, G., & Tracey, B. (1992). Consequences of influence tactics used with subordinates, peers, and the boss. Journal of Applied Psychology, 77, 525-535.

Zald, M. N. (1970). Power in organizations. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Zaleznik, A. (1963, July/August). The human dilemma of leadership. Harvard Business Review, 49-55.

VITA

Name Patrick Linton Allen

Undergraduate and Graduate Schools Attended

University of the West Indies, School of Education
Andrews University

Degrees Awarded

1973 Three Year Diploma in Teaching, University of the West Indies
1984 BA (Hons) History/Religion, Andrews University
1985 MA Systematic Theology, SDA Theological Seminary, Andrews University
1998 Ph.D. Educational Administration and Supervision, Andrews University

Summary of Professional Experience

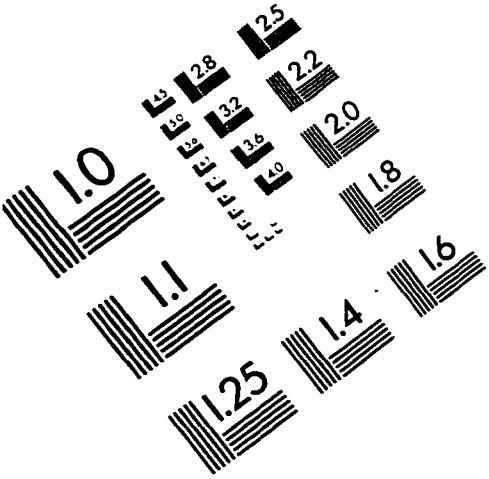
1973 - 1983	Teacher of English, Math, Science, Social Studies, P.E., and Principal at: Water Valley, Robin's Bay, Hillside, Port Maria High Schools (Jamaica)
1986 - 1990	Pastor, Director of Education, Central Jamaica Conference of SDA
1990 - 1993	Director of Education, West Indies Union Conference of SDA
1996 -	Assistant Registrar, Andrews University

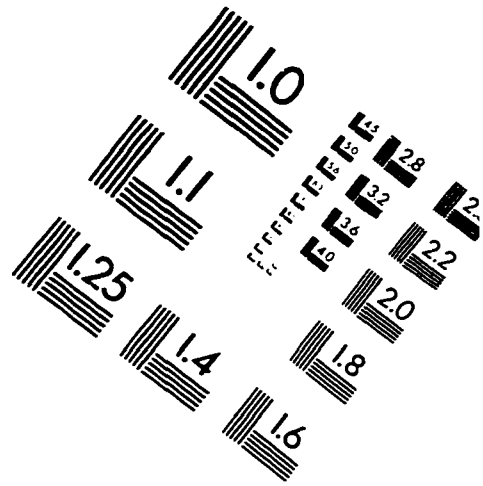
Honors and Publications

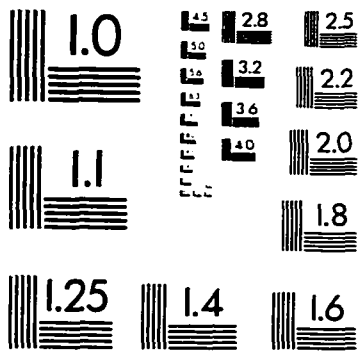
Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities (1985)
Member: Phi Kappa Phi, Phi Delta Kappa, Phi Alpha Theta
Publications: 1. Effects of the Depression on the Role of Women in the SDA Church (1986)
2. Manual for Administrators and Teachers, West Indies Union (1992)

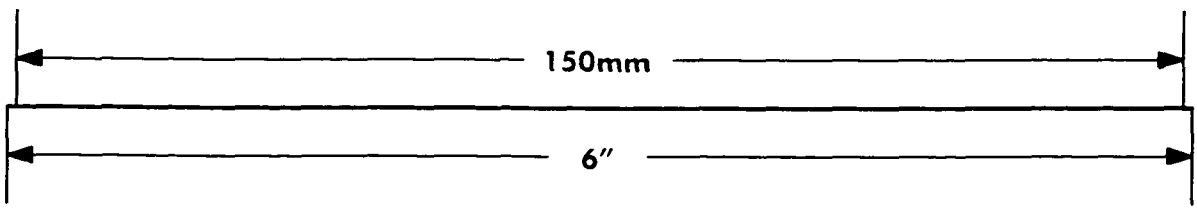
Marital Status: Married with three children.

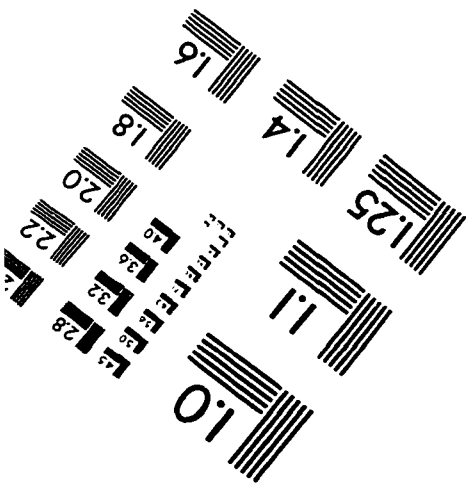
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

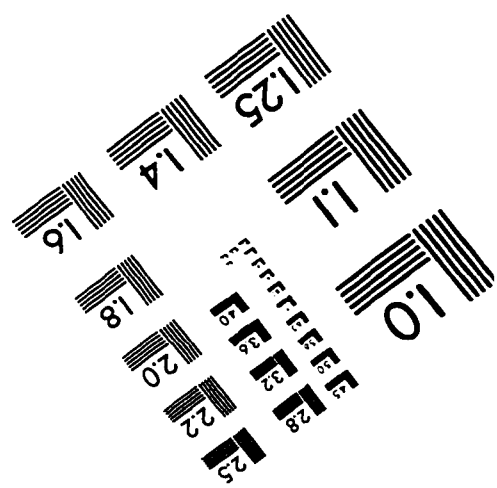












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989